

The Alberta Journal of Educational Research

Vol. VIII, No. 4

December, 1962



THE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH
Faculty of Education
University of Alberta

EDUCATION AND ASSIMILATION IN THREE ETHNIC GROUPS

JOHN A. HOSTETLER
and
CALVIN REDEKOP

The Problem

Within the ethos of the "great society" with its sweeping effort to educate every citizen, there are ethnic groups, or "little communities" (1) who are as much concerned about the maintenance of their way of life as is the great society. The educational effort of the ethnic group is to maintain a way of life in keeping with the belief system. Their efforts are often not only to maintain distinctive religious and cultural practices but to evade the pervasive educational values implicit in the great society. This "boundary maintenance" (2) activity, intended to preserve the social system and its traditional interaction patterns, takes many forms and generally increases with the threat of encroachment. The problem in this paper is to relate the value systems of three ethnic (3) groups with the value system of the great society, and to develop several hypotheses on the nature of ethnic extinction.

Since the three ethnic groups under consideration reside in three North American countries, it is essential that we take account of the educational objectives in these three countries: Canada, the United States, and Mexico. Objectives of education are very numerous and there is no absolute agreement on the objectives. Nevertheless, the general objectives appear to be as follows.

1. In Canada education is the primary responsibility of the provinces. In Alberta one source gives three general purposes of secondary education: "(a) the fullest realization of the youth's personal potentialities; (b) the preservation and improvement of the democratic social order; (c) the understanding, utilization and improvement of the physical environment." (4) The recent *Report of the Royal Commission on Education in Alberta* (5) lists 280 recommendations for the improvement of public supported education in the province.

2. Education is one of the most cherished values in the United States today. It is considered one of the most important institutions for the strengthening and propagation of American democracy. The

*Formerly Assistant Professor of Sociology, University of Alberta, Edmonton, now at Pennsylvania State University, Ogontz Campus, Abington, Pennsylvania. Dr. Redekop is Assistant Professor of Sociology, School of Religion, Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana.

"Report of the President's Commission on National Goals" presents the case: (6)

Education is important in any modern society, whatever its political or economic forms. But a society such as ours, dedicated to the worth of the individual, committed to the nature of free, rational and responsible men and women, has special reason for valuing education. Our deepest convictions impel us to foster individual fulfillment. We wish each one to achieve the promise that is in him. We wish each one to be worthy of a free society, and capable of strengthening a free society.

Education is not only the desideratum of every person. It should also be made available and utilized by everyone. The report continues: (7)

Education is essential not only to individual fulfillment but to the vitality of our national life. The vigor of our free institutions depends upon educated men and women at every level of society. And at this moment in history, free institutions are on trial.

3. Mexican attitudes toward education are illustrated by slogans as "Land and Books," and "To Educate is to Redeem," and "To Educate is to Govern." (8) Article 3 of the Constitution of 1917 suggests that democracy shall be promoted by education. "It shall be national . . . without hostility or exclusivism. It shall contribute to better human cooperation, 'promote esteem for the dignity of the person' and produce an appreciation of 'the general interest of society.' At the same time, it shall avoid 'privileges of race, sects, groups, sexes and individuals'" (9)

Article 3 also points to the universal nature of education by stating: (10)

Education given by the Federation, States and Municipalities shall develop harmoniously all the faculties of the human being and encourage in him at the same time a love of country and a consciousness of international solidarity . . . It is to be national, paying attention to the nation's problems, the development of its resources, the defense of its political and economic development and the growth of an integrated national life.

A number of observations could be made about the way education is valued and propagated. Only a few relevant ones can be made. (1) It is assumed that everyone, regardless of his membership in religious or ethnic groups, desires to be educated. (2) It is assumed that when education is made available and dispensed, democracy prevails regardless of how it is dispensed or what the consequences are for the group. (3) That the "Canadian" or "Mexican" or the "American" way of life can and should become the goal of everyone.

The Value Systems of Three Ethnic Groups

In contrast to the "imperialistic" nature of the educational institutions of the "great society" is the "defensive" nature of the ethnic religious group. These groups are intent upon preserving

their "otherworldly" orientation. They have no intention of becoming a part of the "great society". Three branches of the Anabaptist-Mennonite tradition will be described. They are the Old Order Amish, the Old Colony Mennonite, and the Hutterian Brethren or Hutterite. The basic beliefs are similar but the social organization and culture are very different. All believe and practice non-resistance and "nonconformity to the world." All utilize the German language but each has a dialect which is foreign to the other. All live geographically from each other. Each believes that they are "a chosen people" whom God will reward for maintaining their distinct faith.

1. The Old Order Amish (12) are a radically conservative offshoot of the Swiss Brethren from 1693 taking their name from Jacob Ammann, who stood for a strict interpretation of the doctrine of shunning excommunicated members. Like other Pennsylvania German groups they migrated to Pennsylvania in the eighteenth century and now number about 43,000 persons living in eighteen states and in the province of Ontario. They are distinctive in maintaining a ceremonial and ecological community known as the "church district" limited by horse-and-buggy travel. The Amish remain on the land and practice "nonconformity to the world" which includes taboos of electricity, telephones, and automobiles. Their grooming and dress has become highly symbolic of group identity. They are generally thrifty and hard-working owners of family farms, often living close to highly industrialized areas.

2. The Old Colony. The Old Colony Mennonite Church is an offshoot of the Dutch-Russian Mennonite heritage. (13) It separated from the mainline Mennonite group very slowly on the basis of cultural and practical differences. Culturally, the Old Colony became separated from the Mennonites in Russia through isolation and stagnation. The migrations to Canada from Russia served to isolate the Old Colony members geographically so the division was not long in coming. The migration to Mexico of the bulk of the Old Colony in 1922 because of the education issue serves as a convenient date for its existence as a separate ethnic group. Like the Amish, the Old Colony conforms to the school of folk society. (14) Its charter of faith teaches that the Old Colony is a people of God, called to be faithful and obedient to God through separation from the world and perpetuation of their way of life. The Old Colony is organized in villages, and is a theocracy, in the sense that the church, through the ministers and bishops, determines the pilgrimage in the world.

3. The Hutterites. The Hutterites (15) originated in Austria and Moravia in the sixteenth century, named after Jacob Hutter, who

was its leader and martyr in 1533. The Hutterites early in their history established the *Bruderhof* or colony idea, where all material goods are held in common under the direction of appointed leaders. The individual Hutterite owns nothing, not even the clothing on his back, though they are his to wear. He works, sleeps, worships, and lives entirely under the direction of the Christian community. The practice of "community of goods" has been maintained by this group from Austria, through Moravia, Slovakia, Hungary, Russia, and now in the United States and Canada. There are presently about 130 colonies and 12,500 people, over half of which are in Canada. The Hutterites make much of living in geographic isolation as well as symbolic isolation from the world. Private property is an obstacle to Christian community. The world is full of strife where everyone is for himself. The world is a *Jammertal*, a valley of tears, but meanwhile the colony becomes the "ark" of salvation as the Christian travels through it to the next world.

The Plan of the Paper

The above characterization of the educational objectives of the host countries, and of the three ethnic groups will make it abundantly clear that tension, if not conflict, exists between the educational objectives of the "great society" and of the religious ethnic groups. This paper will attempt to indicate the nature of the conflict, and the type of possible strategies that can be used as the ethnic groups try to defend their way in life.

The problem of this paper is as follows: the host countries are all committed to a permeation of their way of life. This is to be accomplished most successfully by education and its benefits to all citizens. (16) The ethnic groups on the other hand are not interested in the democratic aims of education, because they are aware of the effects this will have on their own society and culture. What can the ethnic group do to retain its own identity in this situation?

This problem can be set forth in the form of a hypothesis which this paper will attempt to prove: The degree of assimilation is an index to the degree to which the ethnic group is dissolving. Since this has no predictive value, an intervening variable is proposed which will explain why some ethnic groups disappear faster than others. It is therefore proposed that the type of "control" of the educational offensive of the great society will best predict the dissolution of an ethnic group.

Section one of the paper will present a paradigm of the degree to which the three groups vary in their assimilation to the host society. Section two will document the degree to which the three

groups are resisting dissolution. Section three will present a description of the modes of control of the educational offensive of the "Great Society" which, it is hypothesized, will predict the ability of the group to maintain its own identity.

IV. The Degree of Assimilation in the Three Ethnic Groups

The variable that has been chosen to describe the difference in assimilation of the three groups is that of economic communality—that is to say, the degree to which the groups reject the capitalistic orientation present in the three countries. It is assumed that the degree to which the groups practice communal ownership and initiative serves as a valid measure of the rejection of a prevailing value system. Other criteria of assimilation could be used, but the writers feel confident that this one is empirically verifiable and most easily presented. In the following comparison, each group will be compared on two variables, the ownership of property, and the initiation of economic action.

A. *The Amish*

1. Ownership. The Amish church owns no land in common, as all lands are owned by family heads just as in the great society. Farms are purchased from outsiders as the population increase requires. Farms may be bought or sold to anyone at the discretion of the individual. Farm machinery, livestock, and all furniture is owned by each household. The only property held in common in an Amish church district are the songbooks, and in some districts, the benches which are transported from one home to the next. The Amish hold personal property in the same way as American citizens. But of course, sharing and mutual aid activities are also highly characteristic. An Amish farmer may sell his farm in one state and move to another. Preachers who have difficulty in getting along in one district are not prohibited from moving to other communities. The Amish system permits greater mobility than do the other two social systems.

2. Initiative. An Amish farmer has considerable freedom in the economic aspect of life, so long as he confines his interest to farming and related occupations. The young Amishman must begin the climb on the "agricultural ladder" as a farm hand. He typically opens a savings account in the bank, and the initiative to full ownership depends on his own ability. He may borrow from his relatives, from the bank, or from the government. The decision is his. The church district has no direct control over his economic decisions so long as he conforms to the general *Regel und Ordnung* (rules and order) of the district. He could, of course, not buy an auto-

mobile but in making investments within the areas approved, the initiative is personal.

B. The Old Colony

1. Ownership. The Old Colony church officially holds title to all land purchased in Mexico or elsewhere. It is then "sold" to individual members who pay the church a designated sum of money. The land cannot "officially" be sold without the church's permission though the land does change hands, though limited to members. No one would be free to sell land to an outsider. The church buildings and lands, and the school facilities are owned by the Old Colony as a group. There are many other goods which are privately owned, such as farm buildings, horses and buggies, etc.

2. Initiative. Individual initiative is limited by religious and social control. A farmer is free to start a new business, like a feed mill, but only if it does not undermine the Old Colony religious beliefs or social system. For example, an Old Colony member could not set up a store in a Mexican village. If he were to set up a partnership with a Mexican, he would be admonished by the leaders of the church and excommunicated if he did not capitulate. An Old Colony farmer may become wealthy, but this is carefully watched by the church.

When the Old Colony communal system is compared with the Amish and Hutterites, it is clear that it is in the middle, and has rejected more of the capitalistic values than the Amish, but not nearly as many as the Hutterites.

C. The Hutterites

1. Ownership.

The Amishman is a private enterpriser, the Old Colony a limited enterpriser, while the individual Hutterite is no enterpriser at all. Here land may not be owned by the individual under any circumstances. Ownership by the individual would be a violation of the basic charter. Land is owned by the corporation, the local group of Hutterites. Land is bought and sold only as voted by the baptized males. Ownership of farm equipment, and the purchase of dry goods, or goods from the outside, requires the consent of the assembly. Checks and legal papers are signed by the preacher and the steward of the colony but the ownership is corporate.

2. Initiative. A Hutterite person has few decisions to make with regard to property while initiative is completely institutionalized. As stated, he may own nothing of his own and initiative in this direction would not be tolerated. His needs for maintenance are supplied. Initiative takes the form of conformity to norms. If

initiative must be taken it is up to the preacher and the steward to bring suggested courses of action to the entire body.

The Degree of Dissolution of the Three Ethnic Groups

We have stated earlier that the degree of assimilation is an index of the degree to which the group is dissolving. Dissolution then becomes the dependent variable in our analysis depending upon the intervening variable (the position on education) discussed later. To establish a relationship between the independent variable (assimilation) and the dependent variable (dissolution) it will be necessary to examine the extent of dissolution in the three ethnic groups. We have chosen to examine dissolution in terms of: (1) the extent of member defection, (2) the facilities for deviancy control, and (3) how authority is challenged if at all.

A. *The Amish*

1. Defection. It is a well established fact that the Amish lose many of their members to the Mennonite churches. One study revealed that a third of the offspring in one district did not choose the church of their parents. (17) Amish farmers who wish to farm with tractors or drive automobiles instead of horses on the road, generally choose an Amish-Mennonite affiliation. There is a constant mobility from the orthodox to the more liberal groups of Mennonites. Defection has become institutionalized. Individuals, whole families, and entire congregations may become assimilated.

2. Deviancy Control. A baptized member who leaves the strict Amish church is liable for excommunication and for shunning for the rest of his life. But a young Amish man who has not been baptized cannot be sanctioned by the church. The only sanction which can be brought against him for having an automobile, for instance, is the attitude of his parents. Some parents will not sanction their sons for having a driver's license or even an automobile. If he wants to join the Amish church later, he will sell the automobile before he settles down to married life.

3. Challenge to Authority. Authority is not directly challenged in the Amish society, but a great deal of "backtalk" and gossip nevertheless can and does take place. A deviant in any of the three groups has little chance of influencing the leaders directly, and in Amish society a challenge to authority comes about when subgroupings develop and threaten the existing structure. Change of the *Ordnung* can come about if there are enough offenders, or as often happens, a cleavage forms between two groups who choose their separate ministers.

B. The Old Colony

1. Defection. Defection in the Old Colony is very low. Only about five people had defected from the Old Colony and become Mexican. Most of these defected through marriage with Mexican people. There were several others who because of moral degeneracy had left the Old Colony, but they had ended up in jail or became castaways. This state of affairs existed when Redekop was doing research in the Old Colony. Certainly before that time there were some who had defected and some may have left since. But nevertheless, by increasing the number that defected each year to twenty or so (which is much too high) the annual rate of loss is still .0015 which is fantastically low. (The total population of Old Colony in Mexico is approximately 13,000 souls.)

2. Deviancy control. Deviancy is controlled through various mechanisms from social pressure of public opinion to church discipline based on religious mores ending in excommunication and shunning. Excommunication is still practiced, though shunning of the excommunicated is less effective than it was twenty years ago. Church members are controlled by church regulations. Non-church members are controlled by parents who are members, or by secular means, such as village fathers. If a member should decide to buy a car instead of the regulation buggy, he would be brought before the "Donnerstag"—Day of Thunder—a meeting of the deacons and preachers. If he still would not recant, he would be brought before the church and excommunicated.

3. Challenge of Authority. Authority is not directly challenged. If a member deviates, it is not often because he rejects the Old Colony system or because he rejects the authority of the church. It is rather most often caused by personal needs. For example, one member bought a truck and was told to sell it or be excommunicated. He did not sell the truck because he had bought a piece of land some distance away and needed it to get back and forth. He was accepted as soon as he had finished his hauling. The challenge to authority, such as exists, is informal and crops up at those places where the individual feels his personal welfare is at stake. He does not flaunt the authority of the Old Colony way of life.

C. The Hutterites

1. Defection. The loss of members in Hutterite society is again very low. Colony leaders admit that single boys leave the colony during the summer, but usually return again in the fall. Of those who attempt to leave permanently, many return after they have "tried the world." The transition from communal life to individualism appears to be unnatural for them. Intensive moral doctrination

from kindergarten through adolescence helps to offset attractions in the world. Joseph Eaton and his associates reported that 106 Hutterite males and eight females had deserted at the time of his mental health study in 1951. He reported 144 additional cases of individuals who had "tried the world" but returned. Permanent defectors are believed to be no more than 2.5 per cent of the population aged 15 and over. (18) The deserters are invariably individuals and never families or sub-groups within the colony.

2. Control of deviancy. The social controls are multiple, and the sanctions for misconduct are very severe. Offenses of children are punished by whippings and deprivations. Minor offenses of members are punished by admission of guilt and confession before the *Gemein*, and major offenses such as drunkenness, adultery, or deserting the colony invoke excommunication and the ban. Under these circumstances the *Bundbrecher* (vow-breaker) is not asked to leave the colony but he is assigned to his apartment where he must eat, sleep, and remain in isolation from others until he repents his misdeeds. Kaplan and Plaut suggest that "the motivations which are built into the individual (Hutterite) during socialization insure that he 'will want to do what he has to do.'" (19)

3. Challenge to Authority. The individual Hutterite may not question the decision of the community. Respect for order and authority in colony life are rated very highly, and individuals who would challenge the existing structure would be displeasing the divine order. Hutterites have much to say in praise of their colony, and while one colony may rate others very low, the writers have never found an instance where members criticize their colony leaders. The willingness to accept orders without question appears to be more marked among the Hutterites than either among the Old Colony or the Amish.

The Relative Control of the Educational Process

The above analysis strongly suggests that the degree of assimilation correlates very closely with the degree of defection from the group. There is a great deal of literature which documents the persistence or dissolution of ethnic groups. However there is little theoretical material which proposes to predict why groups dissolve. The intervening variable in our comparison, that is, the educational strategy of the three groups, offers some insight. The strategy of each group will be compared on the basis of its physical and psychological proximity to the Great Society's educational offensive. We shall also compare the facilities for the control of curriculum and the ideological content.

A. The Amish

1. Proximity.

i. Physically. The school building where the Amish children attend is typically a one-room school in the country. They attend one-room public schools but also private schools of their own where one-room schools have been closed. The distance to school is essentially the same. The Amish live within walking distance as a rule. In the Amish group, the building is least integrated with the social life of the group.

ii. Psychologically. While the school experience is a normal part of life, it remains a part of the domain of the outside world. The school as a social system is left outside of the integrating and functioning in-group. Compromises are made as necessary. The teacher in the case of a public school is not a part of the Amish community and represents the outside world. In the case of a private school, the teacher is either a sympathetic outsider or an Amish person. In any case the role of the school is considered marginal to the life of the Amish community.

2. Control of teaching.

i. Curriculum. The Amish people have no control over the curriculum. In some states the parents must buy the books for their children every year. In others, the school division provides the books. In any case neither the parents nor the church have any control over the subjects taught. Public school teachers are appointed by the school district.

ii. Ideologically the Amish have no control over the philosophy of education. The school experience is accepted as a kind of necessary evil. Efforts are maintained to keep methods and ideology from changing. The Amish attitude toward schooling may be characterized as defensive. Education beyond the elementary grades is not approved, and parents will go to prison if necessary to defend this point. An Amish youth who insists on going to high school or college becomes a deviant, because the high school is viewed as a "machine" that prepares one for living in the "world", not in the Amish community.

B The Old Colony

1. Proximity.

i. Physically. The Old Colony educational system is in close relationship to the total life of the Old Colony. The school building is situated in the center of each village. The teacher lives on the school grounds in a house provided by the village. Many of the village and church functions (such as a tax collection) take place in the school.

ii. Psychologically. The educational system is conducted by the Old Colony people themselves so that there is a close feeling for it. The schoolteacher is "one of the people" and is a respected member of the church. There is rarely any tension between the school teacher and the villagers.

2. Control of teaching.

i. Curriculum. The Old Colony is in complete control of the school system in Mexico and determines the subject matter, length of the school year and other matters. A six year curriculum is considered adequate for everyone and no one has ever gotten more. A graduate of the school can immediately be hired to teach others.

ii. Ideologically the Old Colony in Mexico is in complete control of the philosophy of education. It determines what the purposes of education shall be, what types of educational practices shall be used, what the curriculum will be, who shall teach and many other things. (How long this will be the case depends upon what the Mexican government will do in the near future.)

When the Old Colony is compared with the Amish and the Hutterites, it is apparent that the Old Colony educational strategy is again between that of the Amish and the Hutterites. In view of the educational strategy of the great society it might be termed a strategy of evasion, for the Old Colony until now has taken a course of migration whenever the great society's educational offensive became too pressing.

C. Hutterites.

1. Proximity.

i. The Hutterites school building is prominent in every *Bruderhof*. This close proximity allows the leaders to know what goes on in the school. The teacher is an outsider appointed by the school division but in many cases lives in the colony teacherage. In Alberta each colony negotiates an agreement with the School Division to provide the building, equipment, toilets, heating, lighting and janitor service. At the same time, the colony is free to use the building for its worship services which are held every evening as well as several times on Sunday.

ii. Psychologically. The Hutterites have a deliberate and well formalized program of education. Children are invariably in a group of their own age. The Hutterite child is in kindergarten daily from age two through five and here he learns to recite, sing, write, and think like a Hutterite. After he enters the English school on the colony he is already well fortified against a foreign culture. During his elementary training, he also attends the German colony school in

the morning before English school begins and in the evening after English school is over. Instead of sending their children away to the English school, as do the Amish, the Hutterites bring the English school into their environs and attempt to control the learning situation.

2. Control.

i. Curriculum. Hutterites have the option of buying or renting the school texts from the school division. Though they have no direct control over the curriculum, the physical proximity of the school to the colony permits leaders to have a strong degree of informal control over the teacher and the learning situation. The colony leaders, for instance, prohibit the use of a radio, projected film, or record player in the school room. Since the building has a dual function, educational materials and art work drawn by the children have no place in the church house. Consequently they must be put away at the end of the day. Many teachers do not wish to accept a position with these limited possibilities, and it is a fact that the better and most capable teachers are not attracted to Hutterite colonies.

ii. Ideologically. The Hutterites accept the benefits of the public school system. Leaders declare they want their young to learn enough about arithmetic and the English language to become leaders of the future. While the English school is brought into the colony, its influence is carefully guarded in a controlled environment. We have characterized the Amish attitude toward education as defensive, the Old Colony's as evasive, but the Hutterite attitude appears to be offensive.

Conclusions

We have characterized the three ethnic groups in terms of assimilation and dissolution. We examined the extend of assimilation in terms of the economic community, that is, the degree of rejection of the capitalist orientation. The extent of dissolution was examined in terms of the defection of members, the controls over the deviant, and the way in which authority may be challenged. In order to account for the close association of assimilation with dissolution we proposed that the educational strategy of the three groups explains the differences. The variables we have examined were physical and psychological proximity, and curriculum and ideological control.

The Amish group is most assimilated in terms of losing its members. It makes little use of education, and seeks to keep it at a distance. Its adjustment to public education is characterized by a "defensive" attitude. The Old Colony Mennonite which has com-

plete control over its schools, loses few members, but really has no interest in developing an educational strategy beyond the level of the folk mentality. The attitude toward the public school is one of complete evasion. The Hutterite group is least assimilated and is one group which brings the public school into the community but modifies its influence to the fullest advantage of the group culture.

The evidence presented from the three ethnic groups points to the verification of the hypothesis that a group will resist dissolution to the degree that it can "control" the educational offensive of the great society and exploit it to its own advantages. It seems apparent that "control" refers to the ability to accept the "inexorable" advance of the educational process of the "great society" and exploiting it to serve the causes of the ethnic group's basic objectives.

The Amish accept the inevitability of the educational offensive, but did not discover a means to control it for their own advantage. The parochial system was not sufficient because (a) they could not control it since they had no educational knowledge, (b) they were psychologically unfavorably disposed to exploiting it. Minimal adaptation to the educational offensive was the defensive tack chosen by the Amish.

The Old Colony has rejected the inevitability of the educational offensive of the great society. It has accepted the importance of education, but only its own kind. The Old Colony has not yet adapted itself to the progress in the educational advance, and has chosen the strategy of evasion. It will probably not be able to survive when it is forced to participate in the great society's educational program. Migration is a short range solution, but in the long run will only serve to keep them disarmed for the ultimate confrontation with education. (One group of Old Colony in northern Alberta is now pulling up stakes after developing a virgin area and is moving to new areas in British Columbia in hopes of escaping the provincial educational offensive.)

The Hutterites have accepted the inevitability of education on the great society's terms, but have made it innocuous by "neutralizing" it. That is, they have integrated the educational process into their system psychologically as well as physically and ideologically, so that the educational offensive is theirs. The fact that the school house is also the religious meetinghouse, the way in which the Hutterites ingratiate themselves with the teacher in supplying him with the necessities of life, serves to "tame" the pagan influences to a remarkable degree.

On the assumption that all other factors remain as they are, it is therefore predicted that the three ethnic groups will meet their

demise in the order of presentation. The Amish will lose their identity first, then the Old Colony, and the Hutterites could go on indefinitely.

Generalization

A generalization from the foregoing conclusions may be permitted. In spite of much emphasis to the contrary, the United States and Canada still have many groups that are striving to retain their character and not capitulate to the prevailing society. Many religious groups, especially the more sectarian groups, are concerned about maintaining their boundaries. Thus the Missouri Synod Lutheran Church or the Mormon Church or any other such group is concerned about retaining its character. It is proposed that one of the variables that will best predict the survival of a dissenting group is the ability to control the educational process.

NOTE AND REFERENCES

1. By "great society" we mean the values of the larger civilization as it impinges on "the little community," in the sense in which Robert Redfield uses these terms. See *The Little Community* and *Peasant Society and Culture* (University of Chicago Press, 1960) and *A Village That Chose Progress* (1950).
2. Charles P. Loomis, *Social Systems* (Van Nostrand, 1960), 31.
3. By ethnic group we mean that definition given by Everett C. Hughes: "An ethnic group is not one because of the degree of measurable or observable differences from other groups; it is an ethnic group, on the contrary, because the people in it and the people out of it know that it is one; because both the ins and the outs talk, feel and act as if it were a separate group." E. C. Hughes, *Where People Meet*, Glencoe, Free Press, 1952, p. 156. This is in keeping with Max Weber's concept of ethnic solidarity, *ethnische Verwandtschaftsgefuehle*, the community of ethnic feeling, and *sinnhafte Verstaendlichkeit*, or the understanding of the behavior of others as a fundamental presupposition of communal relationship. (Max Weber, in *Theories of Society* Edited by Talcott Parsons, et al., (The Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1961), 307.
4. From *Curriculum Guide for Alberta Secondary Schools* (Province of Alberta, Department of Education, January 1, 1950), 7.
5. Otherwise known as "The Cameron Report". A condensation was published by the Alberta Teacher's Association (1960).
6. *Goals for Americans*. Report of the President's Commission on National Goals, Englewood Cliffs, Spectrum (Prentice Hall, 1960), 81.
7. *Ibid.*, 81.
8. William P. Tucker, *The Mexican Government Today* (University of Minnesota Press, 1957), p. 350.
9. *Ibid.*, 353.
10. Marjorie C. Johnstone, *Education in Mexico* (Washington, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1956), 25-26.
11. Cf. Charles S. Johnson, *Education and the Cultural Crisis* (Macmillan, 1951), Chp. 5.
12. Calvin G. Bachman, *The Old Order Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania* (Pennsylvania German Society, 1961) is an ethnography of a single community.

13. Calvin Redekop, *The Sectarian Black and White World* (Ph.D. dissertation University of Chicago, 1959).
14. Robert Redfield, "The Folk Society," *American Journal of Sociology* (January 1947), 293-308.
15. Joseph Eaton, "Controlled Acculturation," *American Sociological Review* (June 1952), 331-340.
16. Johnson, *op. cit.*, 86-87.
17. J. A. Hostetler, *The Amish Family in Mifflin County, Pennsylvania* (M.A. Thesis, The Pennsylvania State University, 1951), 210.
18. Joseph Eaton and Robert Weil, *Culture and Mental Disorders* (Free Press, 1955), 41.
19. Bert Kaplan and Thomas F. A. Plaut, *Personality in a Communal Society* (University of Kansas Publications, 1956), 104.

THE PARENTAL IDENTIFICATIONS OF ADOLESCENTS

BILLIE E. McBRIDE
Faculty of Education

Introduction

This study was designed to investigate the sex-role and parental identifications of junior and senior high school students by comparing their self-perceptions with their perceptions of parents.* It is assumed (1) that the degree of parental identification varies with the extent to which the subject attributes characteristics to his parent which he also attributes to himself, and (2) that similarity to the like-sex parent, particularly in the instances of the variables tested, constitutes a basis for the measure of sex-role identification.

McCandless presents one of the best descriptions of the variable under study:

The boy who has made a male identification is the boy who has happily and thoroughly adopted maleness as his way of life; he thinks of himself as a male; he adopts and likes this state of affairs, its advantages and disadvantages; and he assumes the responsibilities that being male demands. His fantasy behavior is male, just as his sexual behavior, pattern of interests, and style of walking, talking, and gesturing are male. It is assumed that the boy has learned to be male for various social-personal reasons and that ordinarily (and ideally) his best model for this role is his father. In other words, it is likely that a boy must be identified with (for instance, love, respect and in many ways imitate) his father to arrive at a consistently and genuinely male identification.¹ (1961, p. 338 .

Research into the functioning of the identification process has led to considerable apparent disagreement (Stokes, 1950; Sanford, 1955; Kagan, 1958); however, Merlyne's (1960) theoretical model of motivation permits a clearer explanation of the process. He asserts that all behavior is designed to reduce arousal, immediately, or after a period of time, to an hypothetical optimum level. Both psychological and cognitive (intellectual) needs can be reduced to the same homeostatic model which represents all behavior as functioning to reduce supra-normal arousal in either an immediate or a delayed fashion. Identification subserves the same function and can be explained as occurring either to reduce the arousal existing as a result of non-conformity or to prevent that which is apt to occur in the absence of conformity.

The process is influenced by two sets of factors: firstly, those that

*The author is indebted to Dr. C. C. Anderson, under whose supervision the study was conducted.

¹Feminine sex-role identification would be explained in a similar fashion substituting the mother as role-model.

promote arousal and make arousal reduction imperative; and secondly, those that promote the required arousal reduction. The latter group in the present instance includes:

1. The clarity of the model role, identification being facilitated by the subject's having a clear perception of the model;
2. The ability of the subject to assume the model role;
3. The degree of affection and acquaintance between subject and model;
4. The type of existent family relationships.

Most studies of parental and sex-role identification report a tendency for boys to identify strongly with the like-sex parent and the masculine role. (Emmerich, 1959; Rabban, 1950; Fauls and Smith, 1957; Brown, 1957; Hantup and Zook, 1960). Girls, by contrast, do not, according to these studies, reveal a corresponding and constant allegiance to the feminine role. Up to approximately age ten they continue to state preferences and make choices which would indicate incongruous desires to share in the masculine role. This may be explained most plausibly by postulating that, for the boy, social as well as parental pressures and reinforcements to assume the masculine role are greater than corresponding directives for the girl towards the feminine role; consequently, there is increased opposite sex-role preference and identification among girls. (Lynn, 1956; Brown, 1958).

Sample, Hypotheses, Instrument and Procedure

The following hypotheses related to sex-role and parental identification were tested by analyzing the responses of a sample of three grade seven and two grade ten classes in Wainwright, Alberta, schools, two age groups being used in order that development trends might be noted:

- I. There is a positive relationship between the degree of masculinity in a male subject and that perceived to exist in the father.
- II. There is a parallel but lesser relationship existing between the degree of femininity in a female subject and that perceived to exist in the mother.
- III. There is significantly more father identification among girls than mother identification among boys.
- IV. The degree of both mother and father identification decreases with age.
- V. There is a greater degree of father identification among Grade VII girls than among Grade X girls. (This hypothesis is logically implied in the previous one but the trend was expected to be more marked).

The procedure followed was similar to that of Beier and Ratzburg (1953). Five scales from the California Psychological Inventory, masculinity-femininity, flexibility, dominance, achievement via independence, and self-acceptance were administered three times within a period of a week and a half. The subjects answered the questions first in relation to their own viewpoints, secondly as they would expect their mothers to answer them, and thirdly as they might expect their fathers to answer them. By comparing the results of these three administrations it was possible to obtain, among others, a mother and a father identification score by means of which the previously stated hypotheses could be tested.

Findings and Discussion

The accompanying findings are based on correlations calculated among all variables.

HYPOTHESIS I. That there is a positive relationship between the degree of masculinity in a subject and that perceived to exist in the father, is supported for only one of the two groups, the grade seven one. The grade ten group registered a significantly higher masculinity score than the grade seven group but they identify with fathers on only two of five scales, dominance and self-acceptance. These variables are typical of the culturally accepted stereotype of the masculine role, aggressive, demanding, confident, persistent, planful, self-assured, self-centered and outspoken.

HYPOTHESIS II. That the degree of femininity of female subjects is positively related to that perceived in mothers was not validated. Lynn's hypothesis, that males identify with the cultural stereotype, whereas females tend to identify specifically with respect of their own mothers' role, was not supported.

HYPOTHESIS III. That there is significantly more father identification among girls than mother identification among boys is verified for the grade ten group but not validated for the grade seven groups. The positive findings support the consensus regarding frequency of opposite sex-role identification among girls due to the more attractive nature of the masculine as contrasted with the feminine role. Contrary to the hypothesis, the degree of mother identification was higher, though not significantly so, than for father identification in grade seven boys. This might be partially attributed to the immaturity of grade seven boys as contrasted with grade seven girls and the subsequent continued attachment to the mother.

HYPOTHESIS IV. That the degrees of both mother and father

identification decrease with age was validated for boys although not for girls. In the case of the latter, as indicated in the discussion of the previous hypothesis, father identification is no greater at the grade ten than at the grade seven level. Mother identification, however, does decrease during the period from grade seven to ten. This might be partially the result of the fact that the members of the grade ten sample are girls who are slightly beyond the age of compulsory school attendance and perhaps somewhat like the career-type of individual described by Komarovsky (1946) as manifesting similar aspirations to those of the opposite sex.

HYPOTHESIS V. That there is a significantly greater degree of father identification among grade seven girls than among grade ten girls was rejected. However, an interesting pattern of father-daughter similarities was revealed. In connection with the second hypothesis it became apparent that, of the traits measured, similarity between mothers and grade ten daughters was confined to those which were rather authoritarian by nature. Similarly, these subjects resemble their fathers in these and only these areas (dominance and achievement via independence), which suggests that perhaps the qualities themselves are attractive and sought out regardless of the sex of the model manifesting them. This could be cited as evidence of opposite sex-role identification and an attempt to gain command of the envied goal-states of the opposite sex through identifying with masculine characteristics in either parental model. Simone de Beauvoir (1961, p. 38) comments on the fostering of a belief in masculine superiority through the elevated status of the father in the family, the universal predominance of males and the type of education advocated for girls. She further theorises that the characteristic attitude of males, who lack confidence in women, encourage the development of the aggressive attitude characteristic of some women who resent it. (*ibid.* p. 675).

An Explanation in Berlyne's Terms

A summary of findings plus a brief explanation of each in Berlyne's terms follows:

1. (a) There is a significant positive correlation between the masculinity scores of grade seven boys and the masculinity scores they attribute to their fathers.
- (b) The grade ten boys have higher masculinity scores but no significant correlation between these scores and those they attribute to their fathers is demonstrated.

The grade seven boy is commencing a period of socialization in which the peer-group will have increasing importance. Up to this time his father has been his chief masculine model. To fail to conform has invited criticism and/or threats from his father, this in turn inducing supra-normal anxiety, whereas meeting his standards is approved and rewarded.

The higher masculinity scores of the grade ten group reflect an increasing awareness of the necessity of conforming to the pattern of behavior popularly associated with masculinity. The lack of similarity between self-scores and scores attributed to fathers, who were earlier chief models, is perhaps a product of the changing customs of this society. Fathers and sons might well differ with respect to important issues such as spending money or standards relating to sexual behavior. Also the grade ten youth has access to many models especially in the peer-group, which to a large extent dictates his behavior, some of which are more appealing than that provided by the father.

2. Significant relationships between the femininity scores of both grade seven and grade ten girls and those attributed to their mothers are lacking.

In early childhood and constantly thereafter boys are encouraged to assume the masculine role and admonished for being in any way feminine. Girls, by contrast are not reciprocally treated. Boys' names, clothing similar to that worn by boys and "tomboyish" behavior, are condoned (Lynn 1956, Brown 1958). Their mother-model thus may not assume such importance for the girl as the father model does for the boy, since there are fewer demands for and direction towards assuming the feminine role. Secondly as girls, both in junior and senior high school, continue to pursue academic success, the home-maker model proffered by mothers, especially in rural areas, becomes increasingly less desirable both socially and personally. Thirdly, girls compete, strive for success, and excel in the same subject areas as boys and frequently enter the same professions. For all of these reasons they become less likely to identify with the mother model.

3. A higher father identification score among girls than mother identification score among boys is found in the grade ten sample although not in the grade seven group.

This finding can be partially understood in terms of the sparsity of directives toward the feminine role as previously explained. Also, it seems probably that youth identify with traits which will facilitate their existence in today's competitive

society, regardless of the sex of the model manifesting these traits. Any behavioral characteristics represented to the offspring as desirable, that is to say tension-reducing in contemporary society, will be absorbed regardless of the sex of its possessor.

The average mother-identification score for the boys of the grade seven sample is just as great as the average father identification score for girls of this age. This is apt to be the result of the later development of boys as contrasted with girls.

The grade seven boy in many instances is more a child, whereas the girl at the same age is likely to be socially more mature and a 'typical teen-ager.'

4. The average parental identification scores are significantly less at the grade ten level than at the grade seven level with one exception; the average father identification score for girls is as great for grade tens as for grade sevens.

In explanation of this finding one might again note the greater tendency of the 'career-type (Komarovsky, 1946) of individual to identify with masculine traits, and the increasing effect of the peer-group which tends to have rather more masculine characteristics. Fathers seem to provide a more adequate model of the things after which these girls strive than do most mothers in rural areas.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Beier, E. G. and Ratzburg, Fred. The parental identifications of male and female college students. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 1953, 48, 569-572.
- Berlyne, D. E. *Conflict, Arousal, and Curiosity*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company Inc., 1960.
- Brown, D. G. Masculinity-femininity development in children. *Journal of Consulting Psychology*, 1957, 21, 197-202.
- Brown, D. G. Sex-role development in a changing culture. *Psychological Bulletin*, 1958, 55, 232-242.
- De Beauvoir, Simone. *The Second Sex*. New York: Bantam Books, 1961, (Translated and edited by H. M. Parshley)
- Emmerich, Walter. Parental identification in young children. *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, 1959, 1960, 257-308.
- Fauls, Lydia Boyce, and Smith, Walter D. Sex-role learning of five-year-olds. *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 1956, 89, 105-117.
- Hartup, W. W. and Zook, Elsie A. Sex-role preference in three and four-year-old children. *Journal of Consulting Psychology*, 1960, 24, 430-426.
- Kagan, Jerome. The child's perception of the parent. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 1956, 53, 257-258.
- Komarovsky, Mirra. Cultural contradictions and sex-roles. *Journal of Sociology*, 1946-1947, 52, 184-189.
- Lynne, D. B. A Note on sex difference in the development of masculine and feminine identification. *Psychological Review*, 1959, 66, 126-135.

- McCandless, Boyd R. *Children and Adolescents, Behavior and Development*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1961.
- Rabban, M. Sex-role identification in young children in two diverse social groups. *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, 1950, 42, 81-158.
- Sanford, Nevitt. The dynamics of identification. *Psychological Review*, 1955, 62, 106-118.
- Stoke, S. M. An inquiry into the concept of identification. *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 1950, 76, 163-189.

PARENTAL BEHAVIOR AND STUDENT ATTITUDES TOWARDS HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATION AMONG INDIAN AND NON-INDIAN STUDENTS IN OREGON AND ALBERTA

HARRY ZENTER

University of Alberta, Calgary

This paper explores the relationship between parental behavior and students attitudes towards graduation from high school. The data here reported are part of a more comprehensive survey of attitudes undertaken among Oregon and Alberta high school students during the past two years. Involved in the survey were both Indian and non-Indian students attending an integrated high school in Central Oregon, the identity of which must for the present remain anonymous. Alberta students involved included both Indian and non-Indian students attending the partially integrated high school at Cardston, Alberta, as well as Indian students attending a number of denominational residential schools in the Blood and Blackfoot reservations in Southern Alberta. With minor exceptions which are noted in context below, the survey in all instances sought identical data so as to permit comparisons of Indians and non-Indians as well as Albertan and Oregonian student populations as a whole.

The Several Populations

The data were obtained from populations consisting of 52 Oregon Indians, 304 Oregon Whites, 115 Alberta Indians, and 335 Alberta Whites. These totals represent the usable returns obtained from a questionnaire which was circulated in the classroom among the high school populations in each of the several schools involved. In no case was the response rate below 80 per cent.

In terms of basic composition the four populations showed considerable difference in respect to sex, age, class standing, rural-urban residence and father's education.

Differences in sex composition were minimal, with males predominating slightly over females in all instances except the Oregon Indian population in which the proportion of the sexes was approximately six to four in favor of the females. With respect to age, both the Oregon and the Alberta Indian populations showed considerably higher averages than either of the two non-Indian populations. In terms of class standing, both Indian populations tended to bulk larger in grades IX and X, with markedly smaller numbers in

grades XI and XII, as compared with a much more uniform distribution over the four grades among non-Indian populations.

In regard to rural-urban differences in residence, the respective proportions residing on farms were approximately equal with the exception of the Alberta Indian population in which the relative proportion was twice as large as among the remaining three populations. Further, only a small proportion of both Indian populations lived in either a town or a city, as compared with more than half of the students in both non-Indian populations. Respecting father's educational achievement there were again marked differences. The two Indian populations had a much larger proportion of students whose fathers completed only elementary school or less than did the two non-Indian populations. Also, more Indian students gave a "don't know" response on the question pertaining to father's education than did non-Indians.

The Hypotheses

Three related hypotheses governed the specification and collection of data among the four populations. These were: (1) that parental behavior which is positive and supportive will influence student attitudes in a parallel direction; (2) that Indian and non-Indian students differ in their own and perceived parental attitudes towards graduation from high school; and (3) that the Alberta populations differ from the two Oregon populations *pari passu* respecting these same issues owing to cultural differences

The Criterion Variables

The criterion variables, *i.e.*, the behavioral responses one seeks to predict, consist of two questions, one of which elicits information about the student's personal attitudes towards graduation from high school and the other about attitudes of parents as perceived by the student himself. The specific wording of these questions is given below in another context.

The Predictor Variables

The predictor variables, *i.e.*, the items of information on the basis of which one would make prediction about behavioral responses to the questions comprising the criterion variables discussed above, are three in number. In addition to the two given variables of ethnicity and nationality, a third item is employed in the analysis as a predictor variable. This consists of a factual report on parental behavior as perceived by the students. Specifically, the wording of this question was: "How much pressure do your parents or guard-

ians put on you to think about going on to further training?" with response categories including "a great deal", "some", "very little", and "none at all".¹ Although other items similar to this one were included in the questionnaire and show a high degree of inter-correlation with it, the one employed here may be regarded as constituting a basic parameter of parental behavior which can be expected to determine in considerable measure the nature of the students' attitudes towards the issue represented by the criterion variables cited above.

The distribution of responses made by students to this question showed that both Oregon and Alberta Indian populations had a higher proportion of students reporting "a great deal" of parental pressure to think about going on to further training than did either the Oregon or the Alberta non-Indian population (see Table 1). The percentages were 40 per cent among Oregon Indians, 52 per cent among Alberta Indians, 26 per cent among Oregon Whites and 36 per cent among Alberta Whites.

TABLE I

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION: "HOW MUCH PRESSURE DO YOUR PARENTS OR GUARDIANS PUT ON YOU TO THINK ABOUT GOING ON TO (COLLEGE) FURTHER TRAINING?"

Response Categories	O.I. N=52 %	O.W. N=304 %	A.I. N=115 %	A.W. N=335 %
A great deal	40.00	26.97	52.17	36.12
Some	29.00	41.45	33.04	44.78
Very little	23.00	17.76	13.91	14.63
None at all	8.00	13.82	0.89	4.18
No answer				0.30

O.I. = Oregon Indians

O.W. = Oregon Whites

A.I. = Alberta Indians

A.W. = Alberta Whites

In order to facilitate measurement of differences between populations the responses to this question were dichotomized at the point where those students who checked the response category "a great deal" could be treated as one sub-population while students who checked some other response category could be collectively dealt with as another. This procedure made possible measurement of differences between students whose parents behave most sup-

¹In the case of the Oregon populations the word "college" was used in the question in place of the phrase "further training".

portively and those whose parents are less supportive. Similarly, it made possible the measurement of differences on the basis of ethnicity and nationality.

Attitudes Toward Graduation From High School

The questioned designed to elicit the student’s personal attitude towards graduation from high school was phrased: “How disappointed in yourself would you be if you didn’t graduate from high school?”, with response categories “very disappointed”, “somewhat dissappointed”, “it would bother me very little”, and “it wouldn’t bother me at all.” The distribution of responses (see Table 2)

TABLE II
DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION: “HOW DISAPPOINTED IN YOURSELF WOULD YOU BE IF YOU DIDN’T GRADUATE FROM HIGH SCHOOL?”

Response Categories	O.I. N=52 %	O.W. N=304 %	A.I. N=115 %	A.W. N=335 %
Very disappointed ...	83.00	93.42	73.91	83.28
Somewhat disap- painted	15.00	5.26	18.26	11.94
It would bother me very little	2.00	1.32	6.96	1.79
It wouldn't bother me at all .....	.....	.....	.....	2.39
No answer .....	.....	.....	0.87	0.60

O.I. = Oregon Indians

O.W. = Oregon Whites

A.I. = Alberta Indians

A.W. = Alberta Whites

shows that the differences ranged from 74 per cent among Alberta Indians to 93 per cent among Oregon Whites in the “very disappointed” category. The proportions among Oregon Indians and Alberta Whites were approximately 83 percent in either instance. The remaining students in each population checked response categories indicating lesser degrees of disappointment.²

Cross-tabulatoin of responses to this question with those on the predictor variable item relating to parental pressure to think about going on to further training showed the influence of parental behavior is in the expected direction (see Table 3). Students whose parents put on “a great deal” of pressure to think about going on to further training were uniformly more inclined to report themselves “very disappointed” at the prospect of failure to graduate from high school than were others. The difference in percentage points,

²This latter category of students is referred to as the “less disappointed” in Table 3..

TABLE III

COMPARISON OF STUDENTS WHOSE PARENTS PUT ON "A GREAT DEAL" OF PRESSURE TO THINK ABOUT GOING ON TO (COLLEGE) FURTHER TRAINING AND OTHERS ON REPOSES TO THE QUESTION: "HOW DISAPPOINTED IN YOURSELF WOULD YOU BE IF YOU DIDN'T GRADUATE FROM HIGH SCHOOL?"

Response Categories	Students whose parents put on "a great deal" of pressure to think about going on to (college) further training				Others			
	O.I. N=21 %	O.W. N=82 %	A.I. N=60 %	A.W. N=121 %	O.I. N=31 %	O.W. N=222 %	A.I. N=55 %	A.W. N=213 %
Very disappointed	85.71	98.78	80.00	88.43	80.64	91.44	67.27	80.28
Less disappointed	14.29	1.22	18.33	9.92	19.36	8.56	32.73	19.72
No answer	.....	.....	1.67	1.65	.....	.....	.....	.....

Chi-square values:

1. Comparison of highs and lows on the predictor variable = $X^2 = 6.83$ p.01
2. Indian vs. non-Indian comparison on the predictor variable = $X^2 = 12.7$ p.01
3. Oregon vs. Alberta comparison on the predictor variable = $X^2 = 18.04$ p.01
4. Indian vs. non-Indian comparison among those who are high on the predictor variable = $X^2 = 8.02$ p.01
5. Indian vs. non-Indian comparison among those who are low on the predictor variable = $X^2 = 10.14$ p.01
6. Oregon vs. Alberta comparison among those who are high on the predictor variable = $X^2 = 6.14$ p.05
7. Oregon vs. Alberta comparison among those who are low on the predictor variable = $X^2 = 14.91$ p.01

O.I.	=	Oregon Indians
O.W.	=	Oregon Whites
A.I.	=	Alberta Indians
A.W.	=	Alberta Whites

while small and in the expected direction, was statistically significant at the .01 per cent level.

A comparison of all White students with all Indian students showed that White students were somewhat more inclined to report themselves "very disappointed" at the prospect of failure to graduate from high school than were Indian students. Differences were small but statistically significant at the .01 level. It is apparent, therefore, that degree of disappointment varies along ethnic lines. This conclusion is further supported by inter-ethnic comparisons of students who were high on the parental interest variable as well as among students who are low. In both instances White students were more prone to report slightly higher degrees of disappointment at the prospect of failure to graduate than were Indians. Again, differences were significant at the .01 level. The degree of disappointment reported by students, therefore, was influenced both by ethnicity and by parental behavior.

In order to determine whether variation along nationality lines was important, a comparison of Alberta students with all Oregon students was made. Oregon students were slightly more inclined to report themselves "very disappointed" at the prospect of failure to graduate from high school than were Alberta students. Differences were slight but significant at the .01 level. Similarly, an inter-nationality comparison among students who were high on the parental behavior variable yielded statistically significant differences at the .05 and .01 levels, respectively. From this it follows that the degree of disappointment by students was influenced also by both nationality and parental behavior.

Turning now to the question touching on the student's perception of parental attitudes toward his graduation from high school, the wording was: "How disappointed in you would your parents or guardians be if you didn't finish high school?". The response categories provided were "very upset", "somewhat upset", "very little", "not at all", and "no answer".

TABLE IV
DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION: "HOW DISAPPOINTED IN YOU WOULD YOUR PARENTS OR GUARDIANS BE IF YOU DIDN'T FINISH HIGH SCHOOL?"

Response Categories	O.I. N=52 %	O.W. N=304 %	A.I. N=115 %	A.W. N=335 %
Very upset	81.00	93.09	51.30	79.10
Somewhat upset	17.00	5.92	39.13	17.91
Very little	2.00	0.33	6.96	2.69
Not at all		0.66	2.61	0.30
No answer				

and "not at all". The distribution of responses (see Table 4) showed that with the exception of the Alberta Indians among whom only 51 per cent checked "very upset", the proportions checking this response category among the remaining three populations were approximately 80 per cent.³ This sizeable disparity in response among Alberta Indians is not readily accountable, although it is possible that apart from general cultural differences the difference in age and rural residence which characterizes the Alberta Indian population influences the response pattern.

Cross-tabulation of responses to this question with the predictor variables shows that the degree of parental disappointment perceived by the student was influenced by parental behavior, ethnicity and nationality (see Table 5). All differences resulting from inter-subgroup, inter-ethnic, and inter-nationality comparisons were statistically significant at the .01 level. It is noteworthy, however, that the impact of supportive action on the part of parents, while evident throughout, was most marked in the case of Alberta Indians. The differences between students whose parents put on "a great deal" of pressure and others was on the order of 50 percentage points—a difference which dramatically underscores the influence of parental behavior on students' attitudes.

Summary and Conclusions

Having reviewed the findings, the question can now be raised concerning the implications of the data for the hypotheses which animated the inquiry.

The first hypothesis, namely, that parental behavior which is positive and supportive will influence student attitudes in a parallel direction, is consistently borne out by findings. Students whose parents put on "a great deal" of pressure to think about going to further training reported themselves "very disappointed" at the prospect of failure to graduate from high school, more frequently than did students whose parents exerted less pressure. Similarly, students who reported "a great deal" of parental pressure to think about going on to further training also frequently reported that their parents would be "very upset" if they failed to finish high school than did others. The importance of supportive parental behavior, therefore, was evident throughout.

The second hypothesis which asserted that Indian and non-Indian students would differ in their own and perceived attitudes towards high school graduation is likewise borne out by the findings. White students reported themselves "very disappointed" at the prospect of failure to graduate from high school more frequently than did Indian

³Students checking some other response category are referred to as the "less upset" in Table 5.

TABLE V
COMPARISON OF STUDENTS WHOSE PARENTS OR GUARDIANS PUT ON "A GREAT DEAL OF PRESSURE TO THINK ABOUT GOING ON TO (COLLEGE) FURTHER TRAINING AND OTHERS ON RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION: "HOW DISAPPOINTED IN YOU WOULD YOUR PARENTS OR GUARDIANS BE IF YOU DIDN'T FINISH HIGH SCHOOL?"

Response Categories	Students whose parents put on "a great deal" of pressure to think about going on to (college) further training				Others			
	O.I. N=21 %	O.W. N=82 %	A.I. N=60 %	A.W. N=121 %	O.I. N=31 %	O.W. N=222 %	A.I. N=55 %	A.W. N=213 %
Very upset	85.71	100.00	75.00	92.56	77.42	90.09	25.45	71.36
Less upset	14.29	.....	25.00	7.44	22.58	9.46	74.55	28.64
No answer .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	0.45	.....	.....

Chi-square values:

1. Comparison of highs and lows on the predictor variable = $X^2 = 37.16$ p.01
2. Indian vs. non-Indian comparison on the predictor variable = $X^2 = 53.62$ p.01
3. Oregon vs. Alberta comparison on the predictor variable = $X^2 = 46.16$ p.01
4. Indian v. non-Indian comparison among those who are high on the predictor variable = $X^2 = 21.31$ p.01
5. Indian vs. non-Indian comparison among those who are low on the predictor variable = $X^2 = 30.20$ p.01
6. Oregon vs. Alberta comparison among those who are high on the predictor variable = $X^2 = 8.19$ p.01
7. Oregon vs. Alberta comparison among those who are low on the predictor variable = $X^2 = 50.31$ p.01

O.I.	=	Oregon Indians
O.W.	=	Oregon Whites
A.I.	=	Alberta Indians
A.W.	=	Alberta Whites

students. White students also reported more frequently than did Indian that their parents would be "very upset" if they failed to finish high school. Differences between the two ethnic groups, while statistically significant, were slight and appear to reflect a slight lag in the development of a strong emphasis upon high school graduation among Indians. On the whole, however, the high degree of similarity between the two ethnic groups in their response patterns showed an impressive consistency and indicates a rapid rate of change in attitudes among Indians favorable to high school graduation.

The third and final hypothesis is also borne out by the findings. Fewer Oregon Indians than Oregon Whites reported themselves "very disappointed" at the prospect of failure to graduate from high school, and correspondingly, fewer Alberta Indians than Alberta Whites did so. Conversely, a greater number of Oregon Indians than Alberta Indians reported themselves "very disappointed" at the prospect of failure to graduate from high school, and a greater proportion of Oregon Whites than Alberta Whites responded in the same manner. Concerning the degree of disappointment which parents would experience should the student fail to finish high school the same pattern of response was maintained. Oregon Indians more frequently reported their parents would be "very upset" than did Alberta Indians and Oregon Whites more frequently than Alberta Whites. The relative disparities shown on the basis of ethnicity were maintained when the comparison was made on the basis of nationality. This finding strongly suggests that Canadian rural and small town cultures lag behind those of the U.S.A. in the stress which is placed upon high school graduation. Nevertheless, it is again noteworthy that the high degree of similarity in response patterns between the two national groups reveals an impressive consistency despite cultural differences. And therein lies a potential danger.

The fact that Alberta and Oregon populations differ with respect to the issue of high school graduation suggests that no simple extrapolation of conclusion reached in studies carried out in American society to Canadian conditions, and vice versa, is possible. For clearly, had only Alberta or only Oregon students been studied in the present undertaking, the conclusions reached in either case could have been extrapolated to the other socio-cultural context only with important reservations and qualifications. Accordingly, it would appear to follow that the current widespread tendency in many areas of Canadian life to lift conclusions and policies from one socio-cultural context and apply them indiscriminately to another calls for serious review and reassessment.

STUDENT GOVERNMENT PRACTICES IN ALBERTA JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOLS

JAMES H. PARKS
Sunnyside School

The junior high school as an independent section of our Alberta schools has been in existence for more than twenty-five years. Its origin was centred in the particular needs of early adolescence. The reorganization of the school group from the 8—4 basis to the present 6—3—3 structure made possible the tailoring of a program to suit the needs of the age group, whose individuals differed from both the upper elementary pupils and those of the lower high school grades. Such a program allowed for the inclusion of characteristics of differentiation, exploration, guidance, socialization, and integration.

Listed among the compulsory courses in the Alberta junior high school program is Student Government and Associated Activities. The *Junior High School Handbook* (1) in speaking of the objectives of this course states that

they can provide, first of all, real training for pupils in such democratic practices as elections, representation, and responsible executive control. They can give opportunity for the exercise and development of leadership, and at the same time teach pupils to evaluate leadership qualities. They can be strong socializing factors and a means of inculcating feelings of social responsibility. They can train the pupils in better use of leisure time. Finally, they can promote a more vigorous and effective functioning of the whole junior high school program.

It is apparent that the possibilities indicated in these objectives could be far reaching. The question arises: to what extent are they being realized in our Alberta junior high school?

Statement of the Problem

It was the purpose of the study to investigate the student government programs presently in operation in Alberta junior high schools, and to assess, in a general way, the outcomes and benefits resulting from the program. The intent was to determine the types of organization employed, the types and degrees of sponsorship provided, the range of activities offered and degree of student participation in them. Also to investigate the machinery involved in the actual operation of the program, the time devoted to this area, and the benefits derived by the students, the school, and the community.

Sources of Data and Procedures

The type of schools involved in the survey was restricted to junior high schools and combined elementary-junior high schools,

from three types of centres—city, town, and rural. The selection was made from the Grade IX examination list for 1960 and was limited to schools of the public school system, chosen on a geographical basis. In all, 175 schools were selected to participate in the survey. Of this number 57 were city schools and 118 were located in towns and rural areas.

Data were collected by means of two questionnaires: one to the staff adviser to the students' union, and the other to the student union president. It was intended that the former provide much of the information relevant to the organization of the student government program in the school. The latter was largely concerned with benefits being derived from the student government program. Following a pilot study the main survey was conducted in March, 1961.

Completed questionnaires were received from 99 schools, or 60% of schools participating. In addition 21 replies were received from schools indicating they they did not have a students' union, and 15 were returned unanswered due to miscellaneous reasons. Thus replies were received from 77% of school requested to participate in the survey. From these data 45 tables were constructed and per cent figures obtained.

Findings

In so far as the information provided by the respondents is an accurate indication of the facts, the following conclusions may be drawn from the survey.

1. A majority of Alberta junior high schools schedule student government on the weekly timetable. Beyond this time, which is usually one period per week, there appears to be very little integration of student government work with Social Studies, Health and Personal Development, or Community Economics, as is recommended in the Junior High School Handbook.
2. Junior high schools in Alberta do not generally restrict the participation of individual students in extracurricular activities, although the principal usually retains the right to "veto" in any particular case.
3. Staff advisers in the student government program are generally experienced members of the teaching staff, who are interested in working with students in connection with their activities. It is usually through consultation with student officers that the task of training and guidance is achieved.
4. Student officers serving in the junior high school activity program are normally selected on the basis of suitability for the jobs and general popularity. The officers of president, secretary, treasurer, and editor are held in high esteem.

5. Student presidents in the student government program show a marked tendency to recognize the practical benefits which may be derived from their office. In most cases they regard the experience obtained as being valuable or very valuable.
6. Grade nine students take a more active part in the student government program than do those in grades seven and eight. In addition, girls, who are usually more mature in this age group, take a more active part than boys. Thus it appears that experience and maturity tend to show a positive influence on the degree of activity of individuals in the student government program.
7. An average of three-out-of-four students participate actively in the student government program. In addition, one-out-of-five junior high school students serve on the executive for a period of at least one year. The experience so gained as a result of this participation, coupled with the responsibilities involved in performing the many duties of the council, clubs, and committees, must necessarily add to the development of junior high school students towards responsible citizenship.
8. Sports and social activities consume more of the student union's time and energy than do other phases of the activity program. Activities of literary, musical, or benevolent nature receive less attention, resulting in an activity program lacking in balance.
9. Increased interest, more co-operation, and greater participation on the part of the student body are needed to bring about improvement in the activity program.
10. City junior high schools present a better organized system of student government than do those in town and rural schools. This is achieved through a wider use of representative government, elections based on democratic procedures, combined with greater pupil interest and more staff sponsorship.
11. Junior high schools in towns, while they do not provide as wide a variety of activities as city schools, tend to sponsor more sports, social events, and benevolent projects than do schools in city and rural areas.
12. Student government in rural schools show a greater tendency to sponsor money-raising projects, and those designed to benefit the school, than do their city or town counterparts.

Recommendations

The following recommendations were based on the results of the survey and of accepted principles in the literature on this subject.

1. All junior high schools should provide some form of student government program irrespective of size, location, or conditions under which the school is organized. The size of enrolment need not, and should not, be a factor in determining the presence of an organization in which students can participate in administering the activities undertaken in the school. Small junior high schools should have simple organizations; larger schools, more complicated ones.
2. An essential step in setting up any system of government is the drafting of a constitution to guide the operations of that government. To help members to learn the rules, and to increase the stability of the system, a constitution should exist in written form. The survey revealed that more than half the junior high schools operate a student government program without a written constitution. It is therefore recommended that these schools take the necessary steps to develop a written constitution that will serve to guide and assist the students in performing the operations of their government.
3. In schools where programs of student government exist without the necessary freedom for students to act within their own "realm of influence", the control exercised by administration and staff should be relaxed.
4. In large junior high schools a greater effort should be made to orientate members of the staff to the basic purposes, organization, and goals of the student government. To succeed to the fullest the student government program needs the understanding and assistance of the Social Studies, Health and Personal Development, Music, Art, and Physical Education teachers, in addition, to the delegated sponsor and the principal. In short, the support of the entire staff.
5. An effort should be made by administrators and sponsors, in co-operation with the student council, to assess the degree of "balance" existing in the program of student activities. Through this assessment such activities as sports, "fun" activities, and fund-raising drives, may be curtailed somewhat on a busy program, to allow time for more activities of literary value, benevolent projects that provide the students with lasting satisfaction, or activities emphasizing such qualities as scholarship, character, service, and citizenship. The institution of long-term projects of sound and accepted values by the students and staff, increase in interest and value with the passage of time. Such projects as an academic honor roll, or affiliation with the Junior National Honor Society, should be considered. Another avenue that might well be considered is the co-sponsorship of worthy

projects with local, provincial, or national organizations—the town council, provincial welfare society, Ducks Unlimited, and the like.

6. Greater attention should be given in many junior high schools to the methods employed and the procedures followed in the realization of the student government program. More time and planning is required to make certain that the experiences gained are achieved in an acceptable way.
7. Sports should be organized, for the most part, on an intramural basis, with more attention devoted to teaching the fundamentals of individual and group games. Interscholastic sports, which often become strongly competitive, may have harmful effects on individuals of this age group when stimulated to engage in prolonged strenuous activity.
8. Finally this study recommends that in each school the administrator, sponsor, and student council, develop a system of continuous evaluation of its student government program. Such a system is needed to curtail activities and organizations that have run their course; one that will see that new activities or projects are initiated when the need arises.

REFERENCES

1. *Junior High School Handbook*, Edmonton: Alberta Department of Education, 1965, p.19-20.
2. Parks, James H. "A Survey of Student Government Practices in Alberta Junior High Schools," M.Ed. Thesis, University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta.

THE SUPERINTENDENT AND PUBLIC RELATIONS

H. T. COURTIS

Faculty of Education

I.

Like business executives, school superintendents in a democratic society must be concerned with developing sound programs of public relations. The main purpose of such programs is to effect "a harmony of understanding between any group and the public it serves and upon whose goodwill it depends." (1-12) The school superintendent, as the person chiefly responsible for giving creative leadership to a school system, must be motivated by this purpose. He does not serve the best interests of society by adopting a defensive position in relation to the administration and provision of educational services. Unlike the business executive, he is not directly concerned with selling a product on a competitive market. Our society generally accepts as the major task of its public schools the provision of quality education for all children consistent with their abilities, interests and needs. The superintendent, then, must recognize the importance of building a clear understanding of the school system he administers. This involves the provision of factual information and objective interpretation about every part of the educational enterprise, but especially that part which has to do with the achievement of boys and girls. This concept is clearly stated in *Public Relations for America's Schools* in these words:

School public relations . . . must necessarily keep the child as its focus, against the essential background of society's needs. Its purposes, more specifically, stated, will include the following: (a) to inform the public about the work of the schools, (b) to rally support for proper maintenance of the educational program, (d) to develop awareness of the importance of education in a democracy, (e) to improve the partnership concept by uniting parents and teachers in meeting the educational needs of children, (f) to integrate the home, the school, and the community in improving the educational opportunities for all children, (g) to evaluate the offerings of the schools in meeting the needs of the children in the community, and (h) to correct misunderstandings as to the aims and objectives of the schools. (1-14)

The superintendent who holds the responsibility of leadership in a school system with such a set of purposes must be prepared, with the cooperation of all concerned, to let the facts speak for themselves and to be sensitive to the reactions of various segments of the public to the administration, financing, operation, programming and achievements of the school system. He must make use of existing means of communication and must be prepared, if necessary, to develop others. He must be ready to answer questions frankly,

honestly and courteously. Because others will interpret in the light of their own convictions, experience and opinions the reports emanating from the school system, it is essential that the superintendent give an official interpretation and the rationale for it. The superintendent must be prepared for negative as well as positive reactions to the information provided, to his interpretation of it, and to the actual practices on which it is based. As a man of integrity, he should welcome queries and criticisms as well as expressions of satisfaction. It is his duty, in the public interest, to insure that gross misinterpretation is met with the provision of further facts or with a clarification of information already available.

I have said enough to indicate that I favor for the school superintendent a program of public relations that is modest, informative, and sincere. Such a program must, of course, have a firm foundation. This foundation is the school system itself and the kind and quality of executive and professional leadership being given by the superintendent. On the administrative side, confidence will result if sound business principles are followed in organization, financing, accounting, and supervision. It is the superintendent's function both to assist the school board or county education committee in establishing policies and to insure that such policies are wisely interpreted and applied. On the service side, every effort should be made to select quality personnel, to enlist their cooperation, to provide them with good working conditions with all that this means by way of equipment, space, safety, and security. Essential, however, as are administrative and service functions, they exist only to facilitate and support the educational program. It is upon the effectiveness of that program in meeting the needs of society that the success of a school system will be measured. It demands curricular offerings based on cooperative planning that has involved both laymen and professionals. It demands, too, a carefully selected, well-prepared, highly responsible, and completely dedicated teaching force on whose loyalty and cooperation the superintendent and his staff can rely. A wisely-conceived and planned curriculum in the hands of intelligent, educated, creative, and professional teachers should meet the needs of the boys and girls in our schools and hence of society. To the extent that these needs are met, the educational program is sound. In providing the means to achieve this purpose, the superintendent and his staff will be challenged to develop varied programs to serve pupils of varying abilities and interests. This may mean, besides basic offerings for the majority of children, special programs for the intellectually or artistically gifted, the mentally or physically handicapped, the technically or business orientated. While programs will of necessity vary in kind and con-

tent, they should be the best that can be given to meet the purposes for which they have been planned and the needs of those for whom they are designed. I must agree with those who say that school public relations take their beginnings in the classroom. Each pupil, administrator, teacher, and service employee is part of the image which the school system reflects.

II.

In developing harmony of understanding, the superintendent must be conscious of the public, and more particularly the various sections of the public, who are to be kept informed and whose goodwill is desired (11-224). Included are school board members, administrative staff, clerical workers, school custodians, teachers, pupils, parents, employers, other taxpayers, communications-media workers, and special-interest groups. There is a body of opinion and research with respect to the superintendent's relations with these publics. We know, for example, that he cannot afford to ignore any of them. Research has indicated, among other things, that:

1. The more removed the public is from the school, whether physically or otherwise, the more difficult it is to maintain a positive interest in its activities. (7)
2. The more directly the public is involved in the school through its children, the greater is its interest. (5)
3. The higher the educational and socio-economic status of parents, the greater are their expectations from the schools and the greater is their acceptance of what the school is attempting to do. (5,6)
4. There is a close relationship between the way schools are administered and the response of the public to them. (8)

It is not my intention to review the large body of research related to communications and public relations as these affect the superintendent and others in the educational endeavor. What I want to do is to stress the importance to the school administrator of knowing the conclusions of that research as one guide to action.

In his relations with the many publics already mentioned, the superintendent must remember that whether he is acting directly or through others in the school system, communication for the purpose of developing understanding is a two-way process. This is true whether the contact is one between the superintendent and the press, a principal and the Home and School Association, a teacher and a parent, or a pupil and a prospective employer. While this mutual exchange is essential at all levels and on all topics, it is

especially necessary as between those who develop policy and those who are affected, directly or indirectly, by that policy.

Communication is often achieved by involving the public in appropriate affairs of the school. In our current planning of vocational education programs, for example, we need the active assistance of business and industry. By the same token we must seek cooperation on a wider front in curriculum development, in establishing society's needs, in providing adequately for guidance and counselling, and in evaluating our results. As society becomes more urbanized, the need for cooperation increases if there is to be any consistency of goals and practices as among the school, the home, and the community.

I believe that I have said enough to point up the fact that the school superintendent serves many publics. Naturally he will use different means in relations to these depending upon their interest, influence, motivation, and concern. Whatever these means, however, he will be governed by certain basic principles of sound public relations, particularly as these are related to educational matters. These principles may seem to be merely the application of common sense to the development of mutual understanding about schools and education. If that is so, then I am all for common sense. I propose to mention several principles and to suggest ways in which they involve the school superintendent. In doing so I am drawing heavily upon suggestions enunciated by the authors of *Public Relations for America's Schools*. (1—16 to 34)

First, the program of public relations developed by the school superintendent must be honest in intention and execution. It must tell clearly and accurately whatever is being communicated to the public. There must be no subterfuge, no dissembling, and no suppressing of facts. "It is not surprising" wrote D. G. Rutledge, Director of Publication for the Toronto Board of Education, "that we should be very touchy about bad publicity these days. Public interest in education is almost pathological, and the constant glare of publicity is pitiless. Educational problems are complex, educational improvement is inevitably slow, and public expectations of education are unrealistic. And so we are in danger of falling into a natural but serious error. We may become more concerned with our public image than with the reality of our achievement. It should go without saying that the basis of our relations with the public must be the job we are actually doing. No matter what the pressures on us, we must remain honest. If there are things which we are not proud of, we should not hide them but improve them. . . ." (12-255)

In an enterprise as important as the operation of its school system, the public has every right to keep informed. Accounts of

board meetings, of new administrative procedures, of curricular innovations, of any change in means of reporting to parents, should be regularly available. Such accounts may be provided in a summary of the minutes of regular or special meetings, through press conferences, or by the circulation of pamphlets on specific topics. Since the financial aspect is of such importance to ratepayers, the superintendent should see that frequent financial statements are issued and that the board and accounting staff keep the financial phases of the operation under constant review. Through talks by the superintendent or members of his staff, through specially prepared leaflets, through reports in the press or over radio or television, the superintendent should keep the public aware of what the school system is doing and why. I have seen an excellent series of leaflets prepared by one school authority to explain to parents and others interested the nature of the curriculum and the approved methods of teaching being employed in the basic school subjects. Surely this is a way to create a favorable climate for the school program. I am convinced that similar means must be taken to explain any proposed change or adaptation whether it relate to the introduction of a controversial program in French in Grade IV, a continuous progress plan in the elementary school, homogeneous grouping and streaming in the secondary school, or dress regulations. Unless the public is given the facts, there will be misunderstanding, questioning, and sometimes well-intentioned opposition to something that would be welcomed by an informed public. The superintendent should guarantee to the public accurate reports concerning pupil progress and any experimental research that is being conducted. Such reports should reveal objectively the negative as well as the positive, failures as well as successes. The superintendent must establish a reputation for reliability. It is essential, therefore, that what is reported be an exact reflection of what exists. Those who receive the information have every right to ask questions and to place their own interpretation on the answers given. I maintain, however, that the superintendent as a professional educator has a responsibility as well as a right to interpret these same facts in the light of his own convictions and of the purposes set for the schools. Institutions other than school systems do the same thing without loss of face or of public confidence. It seems to me, however, that the school, being a public institution, can afford less that is negative than can business or industry. I like to believe that the superintendent who is frank with his public and who adheres to the first principle mentioned will be accurately quoted and will have the information which he provides treated fairly and sympathetically. He must be prepared to have others differ from his interpreta-

tions, but he has a right to expect the same gentlemanly treatment that he, hopefully, has demonstrated.

Second, the program of public relations developed by the superintendent must be a natural outgrowth that reflects what actually happens in the school system. What the public sees when it looks in from the outside must square the facts that have been given. This means that the superintendent and his staff must take pride in what the system is and does, and that they must themselves have confidence in the school and its program. This places a heavy responsibility indeed upon the superintendent to give the kind of leadership that will result in a well-organized system and an adequate program. This involves careful planning within the system. Pupils should be proud of their school and satisfied with the experiences—educational and otherwise—that it offers. The staff, too, must be convinced that it is working in a well-run and vital institution. The result will be a good spirit within the system. This is fostered where the worth and dignity of each individual is accepted, where there is a sharing of planning and responsibility, and where there is recognition of contributions made to the general welfare. This does not mean that all must think and act alike. It means rather that all opinions and ideas be considered in arriving at the ultimate organization and program adopted. Day in and day out, the superintendent, the members of his staff, and the pupils in the schools are reflecting the values held in the system and the degree of satisfaction with its accomplishments.

Third, the program of public relations developed by the superintendent must be continuous. This has already been implied in the second principle stated, but it deserves the special emphasis given in this statement:

Educators can root this principle of continuity in the findings of psychology. The laws of learning, with their several amendments, indicate that use and disuse largely account for the prevalent level of performance in many aspects of human response. These laws appear to apply to learning, to emotional reactions, and to attitude formation. A continuing stimulus produces a more predictable and stronger response than an intermittent or random stimulus. Public opinion in action will result from the combined effects of learned experience, emotional set, and attitude formation—the bases of opinion. Frequency and regularity of stimuli must be regarded as definite and necessary parts of the public relations plan. (1-22)

Whether we plan it that way or not, certain aspects of school public relations are intrinsically continuous. Pupils come home from school every day; teachers meet with organized interest groups as well as in informal situations; school board meetings are open to the public both directly and through representatives of press, radio and television. But the formal part of the public relations

program should also be continuous. If such a program rests on providing information as a basis for understanding, then there is no alternative but to maintain the flow of such information.

Fourth, the program of public relations developed by the superintendent must be positive in its approach. His eye should be on the present and the future. Communications research indicates that very few opinions are altered by negative and defensive tactics. This does not preclude giving, through objective reporting, information that is unfavorable. An experiment to improve students' skill in problem solving many fail to produce an anticipated result. In reporting this fact, the superintendent must point up the significance of problem solving in a modern society and the need to develop more effective techniques and procedures. He should then indicate some of the more promising approaches which are to be attempted to solve the problem. Even when he is dealing with misrepresentation or misinterpretation of facts about the school system, the superintendent should make his clarification in a positive way by giving further objective evidence as a basis for better understanding. In adopting the positive approach, careful attention must be given to choice of words and to phrasing of ideas. One should avoid colored words that are negative in connotation. This is true whether the superintendent is writing a statement for the press, the principal is editing a brochure on current content and methodology in the teaching of arithmetic, or the teacher is preparing a report card to be sent to a parent. It is naturally easier to be positive when everything goes well, but the successful superintendent is the one who remains in control of every situation whether it is unfavorable or favorable in its result. The public has confidence in the leader who faces his problems realistically and who remains in command in the attack upon them.

My own reaction to advertisements which point out the shortcomings of a competitor's wares is unfavorable. I prefer the advertiser who rests his case on the merits of his own product. In the same way I prefer schoolmen who adopt the positive approach in communicating with their publics.

Fifth, the program of public relations developed by the superintendent must be comprehensive and varied. While every reasonable means of informing the public should be used, there is no substitute for direct face to face communication. Such direct contact should be made whether one is providing information to parents, to teachers, or to the press. It is always better for the superintendent to make a statement personally than to do so through an intermediary. He must take advantage of opportunities to address groups of parents, business men, teachers, and pupils. Where it becomes

impossible to employ direct contact, the superintendent should use means that have nearly the same effect. These include, in order of effectiveness, television, radio and writing. In this connection Blair Fraser recently warned a group of school administrators at Banff "Don't let professionals come between you and the people you're talking to, and offer to explain you to each other. Make your own contacts . . ." (4) Too few of us in public education have taken the important step of getting to know broadcasters and editors or of making the most effective use of the means of the mass modes of communication to inform the public about its schools. Through his staff the superintendent should be able to multiply the opportunities for the use of these and other media. Certainly one means of direct contact between the schools and the home is the teacher-parent interview as a substitute for, or at least a supplement to, the usual means of reporting pupil progress. Some schools have experimented with classroom demonstrations to show the way in which various types of teaching-learning situations are handled in a modern school system. Direct observation, radio broadcasting, and televising have all been used successfully.

Less effective than personal contact is the printed word. While I have little hope that most of our mimeographed statements—especially if they are long—will be read by parents, there is an important place for printed articles, leaflets, and brochures. I shall have a further word to say about publications later.

Obviously, as has been said many times before and as we emphasized again by Mr. Fraser in the context already referred to, ". . . in everything connected with educational method . . . as distinct from educational organization . . . in anything directly concerned with your work with the child, there is no better means of communication than the child himself." (4)

One of the reasons why the public relations programs must be comprehensive and must use every available technique and procedure is that, even with the best means of communication, ideas and facts become distorted or only partial understanding is achieved. It seems to me that we are witnessing this today in attempts to set the stage for and to explain the rationale of the so-called modern mathematics. The same problem of the inadequacy of means of communication is apparent in the limited results of the work of the structural linguists and descriptive grammarians in influencing the study of language.

There is, of course, another and almost opposite danger: the rejection of desired action because of overemphasis—and misinterpretation. I am reminded of a study referred to recently by Professor Lazarsfeld. The purpose was to warn the public against quacks

using X-ray treatment and to support the use of X-ray treatment by trained, licensed operators. The effect of a multiple-media attack on the quacks was to create the reaction, "I will never use X-ray treatment."

The fact still remains, however, that the broad and varied approach to information giving and hence to the development of a firm basis for public relations is sound. At the same time one must appreciate and indeed try to anticipate difficulties that may arise.

Sixth, the program of public relations developed by the superintendent must make him sensitive to the various publics that he serves. Fundamental to this principle is one of the oldest and soundest pedagogical rules: start where you are and move from the simple to the complex. The superintendent must be alert to every guide to the opinions and reactions of his several publics. He will gain much from talking with pupils, from informal discussions with business executives, from editorials and letters to the editor, from panels at Home and School Association meetings, from reports of teachers, from evaluation of pupil achievement, from the conclusions of well designed research. He should keep his ear to the ground for suggestions, criticisms, or reactions to all phases of the operation of the school system. Like the successful physician, the superintendent must be able to detect the symptoms of disorder as well as the indications of good health. Here his staff, his secretary, and probably his wife can be helpful. Certainly he should provide for a clipping service and for a source of reference to current articles and books that reflect society—its aspirations and its needs. Periodicals such as *The School Bell* and other publications of the National School Public Relations Association should be available, and significant articles should be read, their contents analyzed, and their pertinent recommendations applied.

Seventh, the program of public relations developed by the superintendent must be simple. In the first place ideas are best understood when placed in a simple context. Not only must the program be simple, but the communication must be so clear that words do not stand in the way of meaning. "The man who can't put what he has to say in simple terms," said Blair Fraser, "doesn't understand it himself, and uses jargon to conceal absence of thought." (4) Every good teacher recognizes the truth of that statement. I can enumerate many examples from my observations of teachers, as I am sure you can from yours. I once saw, for example, a teacher on the staff of our own demonstration school lead a group of Grade II pupils through an understanding of relationship in the number system by using a simple, practical approach with prepared realia. At a different level, I once observed Charles Carpenter

Fries develop his approach to linguistic relationships by use of a few simple illustrations. A pictorial demonstration, a graphical representation, a projected film, a crisp phrase, will often accomplish what involved and over-loaded sentences fail to do. Much will depend upon the public to be informed. Certainly simplicity should not be such as to insult the intelligence. It is important that the approach be appropriate to the purpose and the audience to be reached. Other things being equal, the simple approach, carefully conceived, is best.

Eighth, the program of public relations developed by the superintendent must be cooperatively planned and executed. In other words, it should involve all who are connected in any way with the school system. Trustee, clerical and service staff, junior administrators, teachers, and pupils must all feel a responsibility for informing the public outside the school about what it stands for and what it does. In the same way they are channels by which ideas from outside the school reach the superintendent as a guide to future action. Much may be done, too, by involving pupils and the public in planning school activities. It is especially important that the public have a share in determining the aims and purposes of the school program, that they be kept informed about any major changes in school organization or school finance, that they be consulted about alterations in school boundaries and the reasons for these alterations, and that they be aware of modifications in the curriculum and in teaching procedures. Reasonable advantage should be taken of the special contributions of laymen to the schools, whether these contributions involve them as planners or as consultants.

III.

In stating eight principles of a sound public relations program for school superintendents there has been considerable overlap. This is inevitable because such a program is an entity, a sum of its parts, and not a diversity. Having made this point, I wish to comment briefly on three media that are particularly relevant in the superintendent's public relations plan but which give him considerable difficulty.

I wish first to say something about the superintendent and the press. Our newspapers have not always been kind to education and educators. This is understandable. In a period of rapid cultural change such as we are experiencing, there are inevitable differences of opinion about the appropriate part of our heritage the school should seek to transmit, about the degree to which it should adapt its curriculum, procedures and organization to keep pace with economic, social and technological change, about the extent to which

it should take steps that would seem to make it an agent in creating new social and cultural patterns. The best we can hope for is a mature press that reflects these problems and that reports without bias the total story. In *Education and the Press*,⁽³⁾ a booklet prepared by the National Public Relations Committee of the Canadian Conference on Education, the position of the press is clearly stated. What the school administrator must do is to keep newsmen informed, to take them into his confidence, to be frank and objective in making factual reports, and to insure that they are invited to observe the schools in action and to attend educational meetings of all kinds. We must be mature in our dealings with the press, just as we expect its reporters and editors to be mature in their reports and editorials. We must expect the press to record all sides of a news story without bias. It must not, in the public interest, confine its news to one source or to one side of a controversial issue. Many newspapers, realizing this, have appointed educational editors with a double background and understanding of education and communication. It behooves us to see that we give them our cooperation. If the press reports accurately, we should ask no more. It is entitled to its editorial policy and to its right to analyze and interpret the news in the light of that policy. If its policy is clearly stated and consistently followed, we should be satisfied. Newspaper editors are not public relations agents for any interest group—including schoolmen. Like the rest of us, they have the privilege, and indeed the duty, to state their opinions. Not all newspapers hold the same editorial policy. The critical reader must take account of this fact. In relation to the Second Canadian Conference on Education, for example, editorials made evaluations that ranged all the way from condemnation to eulogy.

One other point should be made. Let the professional newsmen do the writing. Presumably they know their business. Provide them with the information including the texts of your speeches and written articles, but leave it to them to do the reporting.

Second, wise use should be made of radio and television, especially the latter. I am convinced that the superintendent and his staff could interpret the schools to the public more effectively than they do by appearing themselves on television, by arranging for reports of special features or of regular classroom activities, and by providing instruction by competent teachers in curricular areas that might be enriched through this medium. I am thinking particularly of the teaching of modern languages, music, art, and drama. As is the case with the press, the superintendent should know broadcasters and telecasters and should keep them informed about school matters. When he does wish to use these media, either by invita-

tion or otherwise, professional producers should be used to make the broadcast or telecast as effective as possible.

Third, a less direct but still a very important means of providing information is through the publications of the school system. These must be quality productions which in large systems are prepared by an editorial staff hired for the purpose. Fewer and better publications should be the aim. They should be attractive in format and illustration, and should be meticulously written and edited. Such publications will reflect credit on the school system that produces them. The art work, the illustrations, and the layout for such publications should be done by professionals. "Business has learned long ago" to quote Mr. Rutledge "that the most economical way to get a special job done is to hire a specialist." (12-255) It is also the most effective.

IV.

There is another feature of the public relations program to which the school superintendent must give thought. This is the matter of evaluation. He must provide that whatever public relations program is in effect—either simple or complex—be under constant and critical review. We have said enough about public relations being a two-way process to show one avenue for evaluation, but it is wise for the superintendent to set up more formal means through questionnaires and reports. The results of these he will use as a basis of future planning.

V.

The school superintendent who is likely to make a success of the type of public relations suggested in this paper is a professionally prepared educator with a broad background in the social sciences and in professional education. He should, I believe, have a background in sociology, political science, philosophy, economics and history and in the educational aspect of psychology, sociology and philosophy. He must have an understanding of sound business organization and practice. He must have had successful experience both as a teacher and a junior administrator and must have had specialized preparation in general and educational administration. He must be articulate both through speech and writing and must be the type of person who is accepted by his employers, his staff and the public as a man in whom absolute trust can be placed and who is known as one willing to cooperate in all matters related to school affairs. As the tasks of education become increasingly complex, society will have to demand persons with such backgrounds as its superintendents of schools. If it does so, I for one, shall have little fear about public relations in the superintendency.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. American Association of School Administrators, Twenty-eighth Yearbook. *Public Relations for America's Schools*. 1950.
2. Cartier, Francis A. "The Study of Communication in 1970," *The Journal of Communication*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (March, 1960). pp. 10-19.
3. *Education and the Press*, Prepared by the National Public Relations Committee of the Canadian Conference on Education. March, 1962
4. Fraser, Blair. "School-Community Relationship." An unpublished address presented to the C.E.A. Short Course, Banff, May 29, 1962.
5. Grobman, Hulda. *What Counts with Parents*. Editorial Assistant, Kellogg Leadership Study, College of Education, University of Florida, 1955.
6. Grobman, Hulda, and Hines, Vynce A. "Foes of Good Community Relations." *The Nation's Schools*, November, 1955.
7. Grobman, Hulda. "Distance and Disaffection." F.E.A. Journal, November, 1955.
8. Hines, V. A., and Grobman, Hulda. "What Parents Think of Their Schools and What They Know About Them." *Bulletin of Secondary School Principals*, February, 1957.
9. *It Starts In the Classroom*. A Public Relations Handbook for Classroom Teachers. National School Public Relations Association, 1201 Sixteenth Street N.W., Washington, D.C.
10. Lucas, A. B. "Television and Public Relations." Study Pamphlets in Canadian Education. No. 17. Toronto: The Copp Clark Publishing Co. Ltd. 1960.
11. McCloskey, Gordon. *Education and Public Understanding*. New York: Harper and Bros., 1959.
12. Rutledge, D. G. "Publications and Publicity." *The Argus*. Vol. 21, No. 6 (June, 1962). pp. 255 and 269.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SUBJECT MATTER COMPETENCE OF TEACHERS AND THE QUALITY OF SCIENCE INSTRUCTION IN THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

P. J. ECCLES

University of Alberta, Calgary

How much science does a teacher need to know in order to teach the subject effectively in the intermediate grades? Although many have a deep practical interest in questions such as this, few answers are known. No concrete evidence whatsoever appears to exist that bears on this specific topic—and opinions vary.

(1) Many assume there is a positive relationship. A teacher who himself has a good understanding of the concepts will do a more effective job of instruction.

(2) Some assume that at the elementary level this is relatively unimportant. The arguments being that; (a) the subject matter is so simple that any adult is adequately familiar with the concepts to be taught or (b) the subject matter is so simple that any teacher who is competent can easily become familiar with the content, thus eliminating the effect of any deficiency in background that might have existed prior to the period of preparation.

(3) It has even been suggested that the teacher who must "learn with the children" may teach science more effectively; perhaps because he will not short-cut the learning process by assuming concepts to be self-evident when they are not.

In the general context of research in teacher effectiveness it is necessary to define carefully the criteria which are considered relevant. The current edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Educational Research* makes this statement: "More than a half-century of research effort has not yielded meaningful, measurable criteria around which the majority of the nation's educators can rally. No standards exist which are commonly agreed upon as the criteria of teacher effectiveness."¹ While recognizing the many practical difficulties, there is a growing tendency to emphasize student growth as the ultimate criterion.² One effect of this emphasis is to concentrate efforts on those aspects of student change which can be measured with some degree of accuracy (i.e. acquisition of knowledge). All such studies, including the present report, should be read with this

¹Harold E. Mitzel, "Teacher Effectiveness". *Encyclopaedia of Educational Research*, 3rd Edition. Ed. Chester W. Harris (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1960), p. 1493.

²Remmers, H. H. (Ch.). "Second Report of the Committee on the Criteria of Teacher Effectiveness", *Journal of Educational Research*, Volume 46 (May 1953), pp. 641-58.

in mind. There is no reason to assume that the teacher who obtains satisfactory progress toward one goal or objective is also the teacher who will promote equally satisfactory progress toward other, less easily measured goals.

Another aspect of the problem of research in teacher competence is discussed by Levin. He states,

"The most complete picture of the teaching process would be to predict from the antecedent conditions to the classroom behavior and in turn from behavior to pupil effects. Characteristically the middle step has been omitted, so that the result is a statement relating certain antecedent characteristics of the teacher to some aspects of pupil change.

"Although the procedure is legitimate, it presents only a partial picture. For example, there are some interesting findings that secondary school pupils taught by teachers who had neither a college major nor minor in the subject they were teaching scored higher on achievement tests than those students whose teachers had such college training. The findings are indeed perplexing. Notice that this research design has bypassed what the teacher is actually doing in the classroom. Without the added information we can only conjecture about these contrary-to-common sense findings."³

Description of classroom behavior of pupils can also serve as process criteria, defined by Mitzel as "... those aspects of teacher and student behavior which are believed to be worthwhile in their own right ... their presence in the classroom is sometimes looked for because of their assumed mediating effects on product criteria."⁴

The present study has been planned in two phases. The first has been to make a preliminary check to determine if any relationship can be detected between teachers' knowledge of science and the restricted criterion of successful teaching represented by student achievement on examinations used by the City of Calgary at the sixth grade level. The second phase will be to observe in the classroom a group of teachers characterized as having some knowledge of important science concepts and a group that can be described as less knowledgeable.

Related Studies:

There has been relatively little work that focused on the relationship between teacher knowledge and student achievement.

A recent investigation involving 55 teachers of elementary grades in Brooklyn, New York, which used as a criterion children's achievement and considered a number of other variables in relation to this, found such variables as teacher's knowledge of professional education and the liberal arts to be negligible in their effect. However, the author's comment, "A definite negative relationship which does not quite reach statistical significance at the five percent level ...

³Harry Levine, "A New Perspective on Teacher Competence Research", *Harvard Educational Review*, Volume 24, (Spring, 1954), pp. 98-105.

⁴Mitzel, *Op. Cit.*, p. 1484

appears to exist between the liberal arts knowledge of the teachers and the achievement of their pupils. This same relationship was noted in a direct correlational analysis . . . ”

The results of this correlation analysis are given in Table I. Note that the scores for only 42 teachers from the original sample of 55 are included in this data. This reflects a difficulty also encountered in the present study; the reluctance of some teachers to volunteer for testing.

Ackerman has reviewed the literature concerned with teacher competence as based on the criterion of measured pupil change. He notes that Rostker (10) has reported a significant relationship between teaching ability and the teacher's knowledge of his subject matter; Hughes (5) found that pupils of teachers who had specialized in physics made average scores above mean scores of all those taking his test of physics; but on the other hand, Davis (2) reported that students of teachers who had not had specialized training in the subject which they taught scored higher on subject matter achievement tests than did students of teachers who had received such training. A major exception was found in the results of the test in chemistry. Here the pupils of qualified teachers (a college major or minor in chemistry) far exceed those of the unqualified teachers.

Ackerman comments,

These results lead to the conclusion that perhaps in certain highly technical areas the training of the teacher in his subject area is a matter of great importance. This does not seem to be the case in other areas. We might conjecture that the teacher who does not have specialized training in the subject which he teaches is learning as well as teaching. The similarity between his position and that of his pupils may engender a great understanding of the difficulties involved in the assimilation of the material. This leads to a greater awareness of the needs for concentration on many aspects of the work at hand. Conversely, the specialist may have set goals which are beyond the capacities of his pupils and may have thus succeeded only in hindering their progress. Further study of this problem seems wholly warranted in the light of the available information.⁵

A report by McCall and Krause summarizes the results of an extensive study carried out in North Carolina. A criterion score called teaching efficiency or merit was composed of weighted growth in nine areas with the influence of I.Q., drive, home, class size, and regularity of attendance also considered. The criterion scores for 73 teachers ranged from twenty to eighty-eight. A number of relationships between this score and teacher characteristics were determined. Teacher knowledge of the subject matter showed no correlation ($-.06$) with efficiency.⁶

⁵Walter I. Ackerman, "Teacher Competence and Pupil Change", *Harvard Educational Review*, Volume 24 (1954), pp. 273-289.

⁶W. A. McCall and Gertrude R. Krause, "Measurement of Teacher Merit for Salary Purposes", *Journal of Educational Research*, Volume 53, (October, 1959), pp. 73-75.

A study carried out by Stephens and Lichtenstein in the early 1940's compared teacher scores on standard tests with a measure of student change in fifth grade arithmetic referred to as class efficiency (pupil growth in relation to mental age), finding a correlation of $-.52$ between C.E. and percentile rank in fundamental processes in arithmetic. Other results are summarized in Table I. In reference to these the authors state:

Most of the relationships are small absolutely and all are small with respect to the P.E.s. Interesting negative relationships between C.E. and intelligence, reading comprehension and knowledge of arithmetic are *suggested*. The predominance of negative relationships suggests the hypothesis that ability to do well on a written examination (if there is such a general ability) is correlated negatively with ability to teach arithmetic in grade 5.⁷

TABLE I
SUMMARY OF INVESTIGATIONS INTO THE RELATIONSHIP
BETWEEN SUBJECT MATTER KNOWLEDGE AND STUDENT
ACHIEVEMENT

Report	Level	Variables		Results
Heil, et al (n=42)	Elem.	Criterion Mean class achievement, corrected for I.Q.	Teacher Knowledge of liberal arts.	$r = -.235$
Stephens and Lichtenstein (n=20)	5th	Class efficiency in arithmetic.	Knowledge of fundamental processes in arithmetic.	$r = -.52$
			Arithmetical reasoning.	$r = -.04$
McCall and Krause (n=73)	6th	Teacher efficiency.	Knowledge of subject matter.	$r = -.06$
Eccles (n=27)	6th	Science test scores.	Background in natural sciences.	$r = -.04$
Lindstedt	9th	Scores on grade 9 departmentals.	Number of mathematics courses completed.	no significant relationship.

⁷J. M. Stephens and Arthur Lichtenstein, "Factors Associated with Success in Teaching Grade Five Arithmetic". *Journal of Educational Research*, Volume X, (May 1947), pp. 683-694.

In Alberta, Lindstedt found that the number of university mathematics courses taken by teachers does not reflect any significant difference in the results of grade IX examinations. Five thousand, six hundred and seventy-seven pupils were included in this analysis. He also mentions an investigation by Shunert(11) who found in a sample of 192 teachers of high school mathematics in Minnesota no significant relationship between the teachers' mathematical training and student achievement in either elementary algebra or plane geometry.⁸

Measuring Instruments and Sampling Procedures for Phase One:

Does a relationship exist between teachers' knowledge and student achievement on grade six science tests?

The teacher's knowledge of science was defined as the score on the Iowa Tests of Educational Development, Test 2, General Background in the Natural Sciences.⁹ The test was given individually to those teachers who consented to take part in the study.

Student achievement was measured by scores on a city-wide test of science prepared and given by the City of Calgary Public Schools. All sixth grade pupils in the city wrote this test during the first week of June, 1962. No estimate of student knowledge prior to instruction was available but the test relates very closely to the specific content outlined in the course of studies for grade six. No data is available as to the reliability of the test. Validity is affected by the inclusion of some items which are not, strictly speaking, science information or skills (e.g. five points of the fifty were for spelling.) Also individual items suggest the possibility that efforts to teach for the recall of specific information and terminology will be more readily reflected by the instrument than would an effort to go beyond this to the ability to comprehend and apply. The purposes of this test are given by the School Board as follows:

1. To provide data for evaluating the Accelerated and Four-Year Programs.
2. To assist the teacher by:
 - (a) Re-emphasizing the content and skill objectives of the science program.
 - (b) Suggesting some appropriate methods of testing content (facts and understandings) and skills in science.

⁸Sidney A. Lindstedt, "An Analysis of the Relationship Between Certain Qualifications of Grade IX Mathematics Teachers in Alberta Schools and the Results of Their Students in the Final Examinations for the Year 1957-1958", unpublished Master's thesis, University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1960.

⁹*Iowa Tests of Educational Development*, edited by E. F. Lindquist. Science Research Associates, Inc. Chicago, 1952.

3. To provide medians by which teachers may compare the achievement of their class with that of others within the school and the city.
4. These tests are *not* to be used as a basis for promotion.

In practice many teachers must accept this test as representing the goals of instruction in sixth grade science, possibly to the point of omitting from consideration those goals which are explicitly excluded, such as attitudes and the more involved intellectual skills. It would seem reasonable to assume that the teachers with the best background in science would be less likely to concentrate solely on teaching the facts, understandings and skills indicated by this and previous tests. It is therefore less valid as an instrument for measuring achievement in the classes of these teachers.

The Sample: Since the teacher tests had to be given individually it was necessary to restrict the sample size to thirty, a smaller number than would otherwise be desirable.

Correlations would have to be in the order of a .4 for significance with a sample of this size. Nothing in the literature suggests that science knowledge of the teacher would have anything like that effect on the variation in student achievement.

The names of all teachers assigned to a sixth grade or combined fifth-sixth grade in Calgary were obtained and a random sample of thirty drawn. Since these teachers were also asked to agree to participate as needed in the second, or observational, phase of the study those who were not to be teaching sixth grade next year were eliminated as this information became available. When a person was omitted for this reason another name was selected to replace him. Twelve individuals were replaced for this cause. Some of the teachers selected were also principals who were relieved in the classroom during part of the week by other teachers. When the relieving teacher taught science this person was asked to take the principal's place in the study. Two such substitutions were made.

In four cases informal arrangements had been made within the school for some specialization at this level. Such classes were omitted and a new name drawn since it was desired to restrict the study to the "self-contained" classroom. Finally, nine teachers contacted were not willing to take the test and/or to have the observational follow-up made. In three of these cases the reasons for refusing were, in the opinion of the investigator, quite substantial and due to special circumstances unrelated to either teacher or student achievement. In six of the above cases reasons were not given or, in the opinion of the investigator, left some doubt as to whether the real reason might not be a feeling of inadequacy. Some bias is

doubtless introduced by the omission of these teachers. However, it does not necessarily follow that those teachers who feel inadequate are justified in this feeling. In total thirty-eight teachers were asked and twenty-nine accepted. Of the latter, one could not be included in the phase one analysis since the class was a combined fifth-sixth grade and had studied the material outlined in the course for grade five, thus clearly making the test results invalid.

Results:

Out of the sixty items on the Iowa test the mean raw score ($n=29$) was 45.9 with a S.D. of 5.27. The range of score was from 35 to 58. The normative data available for this series of tests is based on the results in 254 U.S. high schools. When comparisons are made between these and the results in Calgary, the mean standard score of 24 indicates that as a group these teachers would compare to grade 12 classes in the 98th percentile of U.S. schools. Individual scores were comparable in range to the 58th to 99th percentiles of the normative group.

These results confirm previously published material¹⁰ indicating that, even though certification requirements for Alberta teachers are not rigorous, in terms of science knowledge our teachers are better prepared than a casual comparison with teachers in the U.S. might suggest.

The correlation between teacher scores and average class scores was $-.04$. This is not statistically significant and should be considered as indicating that no relationship could be detected.

Discussion:

Several of the studies cited above, as, for example, Heil, et al (4) and McCall and Krause (7), conclude that personality traits of the teacher have a significant relationship to student achievement while traits such as knowledge of subject matter, intelligence, and professional knowledge do not. This is of greater interest to those who select teachers than to those who educate them since it is presumably very difficult to change the personality structure of an adult through the usual University procedures and lecture-discussion, readings, etc. On the other hand any teacher's grasp of subject matter can most certainly be improved. Few have doubted that this is worthwhile in that, all other conditions being equal, it would serve to improve instruction. However, the total of the research discussed above and summarized in Table I contains a hint of an interesting possibility. Even with better control of variables such as

¹⁰P. J. Eccles, "A Comparison of the Science Background of Elementary Teachers-in Training at the University of Alberta, Calgary and the University of Illinois", *The Alberta Journal of Educational Research*, Volume 8, No. 1, (March, 1962), pp. 3-10.

I.Q. than was true in the present study, the relationship between subject matter knowledge and student achievement has been, without exception, slight. It has also been negative. It would raise many interesting questions if any such tendency could be demonstrated. It should be possible with adequate numbers and through experimental and statistical control of other relevant variables (including broad personality patterns) to obtain more definitive answers.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Ackerman, Walter I. "Teacher Competence and Pupil Change", *Harvard Educational Review*, Volume 24 (1954), pp. 273-89.
2. Davis, H. M. *The Use of State High School Examinations as an Instrument for Judging Work of Teachers*. Teachers College Contributions to Education, No. 611. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1934.
3. Eccles, P. J. "Science Background of Elementary Teachers-in-Training at the University of Alberta, Calgary and the University of Illinois", *The Alberta Journal of Educational Research*, Volume 8, No. 1, (March, 1962), pp. 3-10.
4. Heil, Louis M., Marion Powell, Irwin Feifer. *Characteristics of Teacher Behavior Related to the Achievement of Children in Several Elementary Grades*. Brooklyn College Office of Testing and Research, 1960.
5. Hughes, J. M. "A Study of Intelligence and of Training of Teachers' Factors Conditioning Achievement of Pupils", *School Review*, Volume 33 (1925), pp. 191-200, 293-302.
6. Levin, Harry. "A New Perspective on Teacher Competence Research", Volume 24 (1954), pp. 98-105.
7. McCall, W. A. and Gertrude R. Krause, "Measurement of Teacher Merit for Salary Purposes", *Journal of Educational Research*, Volume 53, No. 2, October, 1959), pp. 73-75.
8. Mitzel, Harold E. "Teacher Effectiveness", *Encyclopaedia of Educational Research*, 3rd Edition. ed. Chester W. Harris, New York: Macmillan Co., 1960, pp. 1481-1486.
9. Remmers, H. H. (Ch.). "Second Report of the Committee on the Criteria of Teacher Effectiveness", *Journal of Educational Research*, Volume 46, (May, 1953), pp. 641-58.
10. Rostker, L. E. "The Measurement of Teaching Ability. Study Number One", *Journal of Experimental Education*, Volume 14, (1945), pp. 6-51.
11. Shunert, J. "The Association of Mathematical Achievement with Certain Factors Resident in the Teacher, in the Teaching, in the Pupil and in the School", *The Journal of Experimental Education*, Volume 49, No. 3, (March, 1951).

BOOK REVIEWS

Training for Community Development: A Critical Study of Method, by T. R. Batten. London: Oxford University Press, 1962. Pp. viii and 192. \$3.25.

The Southern Regional Education Board: Ten Years of Regional Cooperation in Higher Education. By Redding S. Sugg Jr. and George Hilton Jones. Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 1960. Pp. xv and 179. \$4.00.

The two books reviewed here are essentially case studies in educational innovation. Both describe attempts to create educational procedures and organization better suited to solving community and regional problems. The first deals with leadership training for community development, which is an adult education movement of far reaching importance in underdeveloped countries, including Canada's own northland. The second book reports the evolution and work of an agency pioneering a regional approach to higher education for sixteen Southern States, an approach not unknown in Western Canada, where universities have been cooperating on an *ad hoc* basis for years. The American study shows what can be done with a specially created agency to facilitate cooperation. Thus both books have more than passing relevance for Canadians. Further, both are written with an implicit concern for basic democratic values in educational and social change. As a result they are positive contributions to education in any democratic society.

T. R. Batten divides his book into three parts. The first surveys and deftly criticizes training policy and the selection and training of paid and volunteer personnel. He draws on experiences of over a dozen countries, bringing into focus for the North American the status of community development leadership training elsewhere in the world. The second part surveys comparatively the organization and methodology of training programs. However, the main attraction is the authors' evaluative description in Part III, of his own courses at the Colonial Department of the Institute of Education at London University. After twenty two years as Education Officer and college administrator in Nigeria and East Africa, the author began training courses for community development leaders at the London Institute in 1949. His approach thus combines breadth of practical experience with scholarly knowledge of his field. Using examples from

his courses, he devotes chapters to course goals, methods, finding content, securing participation, developing skills, meeting individual needs, and evaluation. The organization and use of student reading lists is an outstanding illustration. Paradoxically, the last chapter, on evaluation, ends in doubting that "meaningful criteria" can be found for evaluating a course designed to change attitudes and develop human-relations skills. He finds measurement "repugnant", saying he is committed to respecting people. Notwithstanding this paradox the book contributes important knowledge about training of adult leaders, not only community development leaders. Further, it permits the reader to see the evolution of basic educational processes outside the usual institutional labyrinth of schools or universities.

Sugg and Jones, in contrast to Batten, deal with innovation within the highly complex structures of state governments and higher education. Further, they deal with innovation in a specific region, where over forty million people traditionally rural and highly self-conscious of regional unity, were being transmuted following World War II into an urban-industrialized society with new connections in the American and world economies. Resurgence of race as a national social problem added complexity to the South's situation, where dual facilities in higher education were something of a regional norm. University officials in the 1930's had expressed approval of more regional cooperation, a reflection in part of the vigorous sociology of regionalism being developed by the South's sociologists, particularly Howard W. Odum. However, it was the Southern Governor's Conference that initiated the idea of a formal agreement among the States to promote regional cooperation in higher education. A compact was drawn up which was ratified by each State's legislature, leading to the establishment of "The Board of Control for Southern Regional Education" in 1948. The name was subsequently shortened to "The Southern Regional Education Board." The origins and early development of the Board are described in two chapters by the authors. Other chapters deal with regional educational programs, the mental health programs of the Board (an area of involvement requested by the Governors' Conference in 1953), research in higher education, Board organizational development, Board staffing and finance. A final chapter assesses the Board's first decade and anticipates its future. Appendices contain the Compact entered into by the sixteen Southern States, a roster of persons making up the Board, and a list of Board publications.

As a book, *The Southern Regional Education Board* is an economically written, insightful history which reports failures

as well as successes. More attention could have been given to regional context in which the Board was created and continues to operate. There is, for instance, no information on the nature or extent of higher education in the Region as a whole. However, the book contributes to education and social science in a number of ways. It is one of the comparatively rare accounts of inter-state government by compact. Since education in the United States and Canada is constitutionally a state-province responsibility, ways of surmounting state or provincial limitations are needed in regional adaptation or social change. It also is important to evolve alternatives to federal or provincial monopolies of educational control when a region has distinctive problems to be met by education. (The intrinsic value of the South's regional approach is demonstrated in the formation of two other regional boards in recent years, the New England Board of Higher Education and the Western Interstate Commission on Higher Education, with headquarters in Colorado.) Among the books' other contributions only two more can be mentioned. One is the description of how government at the executive, legislative and public opinion levels has been integrated with higher education at the administrative, teaching and research levels. Another is the knowledge of specific cooperative procedures and programs and their degree of success in the South's experience. Much of this experience would be relevant to Canadian regions and to Canada as a whole, which is still a small country population-wise, with limited higher education resources.

B. Y. Card

BOOK REVIEW

Ruth Strang: *Helping Your Child Improve His Reading*. New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., Inc, 1962. \$5.25.

The purpose of this book is to give parents a background of understanding that will help them to determine their own roles in the reading development of their children. The book is organized to contain answers to almost all the common questions parents usually ask about the school reading program, their children's progress in reading, and the part parents can play in supplementing this program and in strengthening their children's reading skills. Each of the topics is dealt with in a clear, straight-forward manner in language remarkably free of technical terms and what is commonly known as "educational jargon."

This book can be of great value in correcting many of the misconceptions about the reading program in the schools. It

provides abundant ammunition with which to disarm critics and to dissipate the clouds of ignorance and prejudice that obscure the main issues in the teaching of reading. Not only parents but teachers themselves will find this book an inspiration and a guide.

Muriel Affleck

BOOK REVIEW

Design for Learning, Reports submitted to the Joint Committee of the Toronto Board of Education and the University of Toronto (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1962), 148 p.

"Does teaching in the schools, or at least the secondary, reflect contemporary conceptions of the subjects being taught?" This was the central question about which the discussions which produced *Design for Learning* were clustered.

The product of a Joint Committee of the Toronto Board of Education and the University of Toronto, this slim volume is a strange admixture of theory, practicality, shrewd inferences, and naiveté. The editor, Northrop Frye, using Brunner's spiral curriculum as a focal reference, states that "the conception of the subject to be taught should be, not a conception of content, or of so much information to be 'covered,' but a conception of structure" (p. 8); the English Committee, pointing out that means have sometimes overshadowed ends, notes that "superficiality on the one hand and minute dissection on the other have damaged the teaching of English" (p. 23); the Science Committee reports that, although the Ontario syllabi called for more consideration of the topics of modern science, "hardly any concepts originating within the last hundred years are included, except for the mention of electrons, hydrogen bombs, and nuclear energy" (p. 129).

Much of what is said in this book has been said elsewhere, sometimes with more cogency and relevancy. Some of the statements seem strangely obsolete (e.g. the decision that geography and history need not be treated as entirely separate subjects); others are erroneous ("No fully successful school text has yet been tried on an extensive scale by teachers co-operating with linguists" is certainly not true). Furthermore, little reference is made to the results of research studies; rather, it is suggested that "research studies be implemented" (even when there is considerable research evidence already available in the professional literature).

Undoubtedly, the results of the deliberations which produced *Design for Learning* will bring about needed change in the Toronto City schools; unfortunately, it seems rather likely that they will be of little use elsewhere.

Ruth Godwin

BOOK REVIEW

Marshall, M. V., *Societies and Their School Teachers*, monograph, Acadia University, 1962. Published through a grant from Social Science Research Council of Canada.

In 1931 M. V. Marshall published *Education as a Social Force*, a study of the Teacher Training Program in Nova Scotia. Thirty years later he used a year in Europe "to find out what those who train teachers think about using the schools for social purposes and what methods they use to give teachers such a social orientation and training." Very limited evidence was produced that British teachers use the schools to secure specific reforms in society; there was much more evidence that in local studies British teachers have found a major technique for producing searchers after solutions for the problems of society. Marshall describes numerous projects both in schools and teacher's colleges ranging from a grammar school employment survey used by both businessmen and local government to the sociological surveys of school areas undertaken by student teachers before they begin teaching. Marshall finds these "thrillingly suggestive" for Canadian practice. Like other educators for whom the University of London has organized investigations of community study techniques Marshall seems to have found himself on an educational road to Damascus. The old life of indoor, text-book knowledge is rejected for ever. It is to be hoped that Dean Marshall's enthusiasm will be widely infectious and that his concern for the social improvement of the Maritimes through education will not impede implementation of the more fundamental educational principle that the informed and involved citizen is best produced by the direct and scholarly study of the local society.

Evelyn Moore

CONTENTS

Volume VIII, 1962

No. 1, March

	PAGE
Science Background of Elementary Teachers-in-Training. Alberta vs. Illinois	3
<i>P. J. Eccles</i>	
Characteristics of Students Who Failed Grade Seven	11
<i>C. J. Allison</i>	
Analysis of the Work-Week of High School Teachers	24
<i>M. R. Fenske and H. T. Sparby</i>	
Reading Interests of Intermediate Grade Pupils	33
<i>Edwin McKenzie</i>	
The Measurement of Sentence Structure of Deaf Children	39
<i>E. L. Palate</i>	
Spelling Achievement of Rural High School Pupils	45
<i>Doreen P. McKay</i>	
The Standard Progressive Matrices as a Culture-Reduced Measure of General Intellectual Ability	54
<i>W. B. Elley and R. S. MacArthur</i>	
Book Review: Studies in Spelling	66
<i>M. D. Jenkinson</i>	

No. 2, June

	PAGE
Legal Status of the Canadian Public School Board	71
<i>Frederick Enns and H. T. Sparby</i>	
F. W. G. Haultain: Educational Statesman of the Canadian West	85
<i>R. S. Patterson</i>	
Second Language Programs in Canadian Schools	94
<i>Neil M. Purvis</i>	
Educational and Vocational Choices at Grade Nine	103
<i>W. R. Morris</i>	
Prediction for Superior Grade Three Pupils	111
<i>M. W. McDonnell</i>	
An Analysis of the Calgary Laggard Policy	119
<i>Arthur G. McFaul</i>	
Book Reviews:	
Pupil Personnel in Alberta Secondary Schools	127
<i>Edward F. Sheffield</i>	
Rural Alberta: Patterns of Change	128
<i>Oswald Hall</i>	

No. 3, September

	PAGE
The Carnegie-University of Alberta Joint Project on Educational Research	133
<i>H. T. Coutts and D. B. Black</i>	
Stereotypes Held by Ninth-Grade Pupils	147
<i>James G. Snider</i>	
The Effect of Foreign Language Background on Intelligence Test Performance	157
<i>D. R. Olson and R. S. MacArthur</i>	
Computer Program Library for Factor Analysis	168
<i>S. Hunka</i>	
Concepts of Image and Plans in Counselling	176
<i>H. D. Peters</i>	
Book Reviews:	
Teaching Machines and Programming	185
<i>S. Hunka</i>	
The Alberta Teacher Force in 1957-58	186
<i>N. Le Seelleur</i>	
Recent Books	188

No. 4, December

	PAGE
Education and Assimilation in Three Ethnic Groups	189
<i>John A. Hostetler and Calvin Redekop</i>	
The Parental Identification of Adolescents	204
<i>Billie E. McBride</i>	
Attitudes towards Graduation among Indian and non-Indian Students	211
<i>Henry Zentner</i>	
Student Government Practices in Alberta Junior High Schools	220
<i>James H. Parks</i>	
The Superintendent and Public Relations	225
<i>H. T. Coutts</i>	
Subject Matter Competence of Teachers and the Quality of Science Instruction	237
<i>P. J. Eccles</i>	
Book Reviews	246
<i>B. Y. Card</i>	
<i>Muriel Affleck</i>	
<i>Ruth Godwin</i>	
<i>Evelyn Moore</i>	

